

African American Acculturation and Its Relationship to Subjective Well-Being in African-American Women

By

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Abstract

African American Acculturation and Its Relationship to Well-being in African American Women

By

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The study, African American Acculturation and Its Relationship to Well-Being in African American women, investigated how African American women maintain a sense of well-being in spite of their devalued social status. One hundred-and-one, middle class, African American women from across the United States completed a demographic questionnaire, the African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS), the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS), the Ways of Coping Questionnaire (WOCQ), the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) and the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS). Women reporting greater affiliation with black culture and valuing of black identity reported more race-related stress, however, traditional acculturation status and an internalized black identity were not independent predictors of social support, coping efforts or well-being. An identity dominated by attitudes of black self-hatred was a significant, positive predictor of increased efforts at coping and black self-hatred was strongly and negatively correlated with well-being. Although, acculturation status was not an independent predictor of more frequent coping or greater well-being, traditional religious beliefs and practices were strongly and positively correlated with more frequent coping efforts and greater reports of well-being.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Type of ethnic identity and acculturation status may affect one's ability to manage race-related stress and result in systematic differences in subjective well-being for African American women. African American women continue to have the lowest social status of all ethnic/gender groups (Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; West, 1993). African American women face the daunting task of integrating mainstream culture while simultaneously minimizing the impact of aspects of the dominant culture that have historically denigrated and exploited them (Greene, 1994; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Pyzant; 1991). Early attempts at understanding the impact of being a member of a devalued racial group on psychological functioning focused on exploring identification with one's racial/ethnic group (Clark, 1950; Horowitz, 1939). Empirical studies that examine the relationship between positive racial identity development and positive mental health have produced equivocal results (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1990; Nghe & Mahalik, 2001; Pillay, 2005; Pyant & Yanico, 1991; Parham & Helms, 1985a; Parham & Helms, 1985b). Scholars have recently begun to question the failure to examine the cultural basis of Black identity (Gomez, 1998; Hilliard, 1997; Landrine, 1996) given the fact that the concept of race as a biological category has been shown fallacious (Landrine, 1996; Zuckerman, 1998). In contrast, acculturation status has been found to impact a number of indicators of well-being (Berry, 1998). The ability to cope with racism and discrimination may be viewed as an essential aspect of the development and maintenance of a sense of well-being in individual African American women. African American women who have a well-developed sense of ethnic identity and cultural competence in African American culture will experience greater levels of subjective well-being.

Ethnic Identity

Racial/ethnic identity theories explicate the ways that African Americans identify or do not identify with other African Americans as a group. Early studies emphasized the pathological nature of Black identity development and adjustment to life within a racist society while ignoring or minimizing more positive aspect of Black identity and adjustment (Cross, 1991; Harrell, 2000; Pope-Davis, Liu, Ledesma-Jones, and Nevitt, 2000). The Civil Rights Movement and the Black is Beautiful Movement led to a push to explore more nuanced, positive aspects of Black racial self-identification. Cross (1971) developed the most widely cited theory of racial identity development which consists of five stages that Black persons may pass through en route to positive racial identity. Although the general validity of Cross' 1971 model of nigrescence theory has been confirmed, Cross revised his theory to address conceptual limitations and criticisms made by scholars such as Joseph Baldwin, Howard Stevenson and Jerome Taylor.

Cross' revised theory emphasizes the concept of "race salience" for the individual, defined as the importance of race to the individual. Stages are distinguished by the degree and emotional quality (e. g. positive vs. negative) of race salience to the individual. Cross' revised theory is a theory of both the process of racial identity development that occurs in stages and a typology of various identity frameworks that are common among Blacks and shape how the individual views the world around him or herself. The typologies are distinguished by the quality and salience of race for the individual. In contrast to Cross' earlier theory of racial identity development in which more advanced stages were hypothesized to confer greater mental health, the revised theory does not posit that individuals at later stages of identity development have greater mental health. Cross reports

that there are multiple pathways to mental health, with racial identity representing only one component of the total identity (Cross, 1995).

Presently, Cross emphasizes the lack of correlation between level of Black identity development and mental health status. However, he proposes that an internalized Black identity offers the following advantages that are adaptive for Blacks: awareness that racism is a part of American society and subsequent development of an anticipatory set that enables the individual to be prepared for the occurrence of racism at any moment; flexible ego defenses that can be employed at anytime; system blame and a sense of personal efficacy and a religious orientation that helps to prevent the development of hatred or bitterness toward Whites (Cross, 1995). The development of an internalized identity should lead to measurable differences in the style of coping and the flexibility of coping responses employed. A contradiction exists within the literature because in spite of the foregoing discussion about the benefits of a positive Black identity and continued anecdotal reports of a strong correlation between the quality of Black identity development and mental health, empirical investigations of this question have yielded mixed results (Cross, 1991; Helms, 1985a; Helms, 1985b; Nghe & Mahalik, 2001; Pillay, 2005; Pyzant & Yanico, 1991). A critical but relatively unexplored area of Black psychology is how acculturation status modifies the effects of the quality of Black identity development and ultimately its impact on one's ability to manage race-related stress.

Acculturation

Acculturation refers to the extent to (and process through) which ethnic cultural minorities participate in the traditions, values, beliefs, assumptions and practices of the dominant society (acculturated), remain immersed in their own culture (traditional), or participate in both the traditions of their own culture and the dominant culture (bicultural) .

Several acculturation scales have been developed for other ethnic groups. The groups for which acculturation scales have been developed include the Chinese Americans (Yao, 1979), Japanese-Americans (Masuda, Matsumoto & Meredith, 1970), Asian Americans as a whole (Suinn, Rikard-Figueroa, Lew & Vigil, 1987), Cuban Americans (Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980; Szapocznik, Scopetta & Arnalde, 1978), other Latino Americans (Cuellar, Harris, & Jasso, 1980; Mendoza, 1989; Olmedo, 1979) and Native Americans (Hoffman, Dana & Bolton, 1985). Some of these studies have found strong relationships between level of acculturation and MMPI scores (e.g. Hoffman et al, 1985; Montgomery & Orozco, 1985), coronary heart disease (e. g. Landrine, Klonoff & Richardson, 1993; Szapocznik & Kurtines, 1980), stress, (Berry & Annis, 1974; Berry, Uichol & Mok, 1987), psychiatric disorders (Burman, Hough, Karno, Escobar & Telles, 1987; Kim, Li & Kim, 1999; Kirmayer , 2001; Yeh, 2003) and hypertension (Dressler, 1984a, 1984b; Dressler, Mata, Chavez & Viteri, 1986, 1987). Although cultural difference often results in additional stress (Berry, Kim, Minde & Mok, 1987; Landrine, 1996) competence in values and styles of traditional Black culture may be of benefit to African American women because it may enable them to ward off the negative impact of stress related to racism (Landrine, 1996; Sellers and Shelton, 2003).

Racism as a Stressor

African Americans face ongoing threats to their subjective sense of well-being due to ongoing exposure to racism. Racism is so endemic in the lives of African Americans that depression, tension, and rage about racism are among the most commonly reported problems presented by African Americans in psychotherapy (NIMH, 1983). Successful African Americans are particularly disturbed by the frequency with which they experience racist events (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, Cose, 1993, Jones, 1986, and Jones and Korchin, 1982). In contrast to the lack of empirical support found between racial/ethnic

identity development and mental health status, researchers have found an inverse relationship between experiences with racism and life satisfaction or self esteem (Broman, 1997; Jackson, Brown, Williams, Torres, Sellers, & Brown, 1995; Kessler, Mickelson, & Williams, 1999). The frequency and nature of racist affronts may vary according to one's acculturation status, quality of racial identification, physical appearance and/or gender. African Americans who are impoverished may experience more institutionally based racism in the form of substandard housing, schools, and healthcare while upper-class African Americans may face more racism related to economic advancement, interpersonal conflict and daily microaggressions (Harrell, 2000, Pierce, 1995). Race-related stress may affect subjective well-being. Harrell (2000) reports that there is growing evidence that racism is pathogenic toward a variety of physical and mental health statuses. In spite of the general pathogenic nature of racism, the impact of racism on individual African American women varies according to their capacities to cope with racism. Sellers and Shelton (2003) found that African Americans that strongly believe in the uniqueness and importance of being a person of African descent (nationalist ideology) were buffered by the negative impact of perceived racial discrimination at event-specific and global distress levels. The African American woman that perceives her Blackness to be of special significance may work to maintain connectedness to the African American community that in turn provides additional benefits in life satisfaction and health.

In summary, the ability to cope with discrimination that emerges from cultural difference may be viewed as an essential aspect of a sense of well-being for African American women. Racism and race-related stress arise in many different forms and contexts. Although there are many ways that an individual African American woman may maintain health this study hypothesizes that African American women who have a well-

developed sense of ethnic identity and cultural competence in African American culture will experience greater levels of subjective well-being when compared with African American women who place less importance on ethnic identity and have limited competence in African American culture.

Statement of the Problem

A paradox continues to exist within the study of the psychology of Blackness. Despite continued empirical and anecdotal reports of a strong correlation between Black identity development and general well-being, empirical investigations regarding this anecdotally and phenomenologically accepted truism have been mixed. Acculturation has been studied in several ethnic groups but much less so among African American women. A relationship between level of acculturation and well-being has been demonstrated for other ethnic groups such as Latinos and Asians. Measurement of acculturation level in African American women may help to clarify how stress due to ethnic and cultural difference is managed. Perhaps it is the measurement of the interaction of type of Black identity development and type of acculturation status that will allow for some orderly conclusions to be reached. Thus, this study will explore the relationship between type of Black identity development and acculturation status in African American women and their subjective sense of well-being.

Chapter II: Review of the Literature

History of the Problem

Blacks, Black Americans or African Americans are a unique product of the New World rather than the direct descendants of any given African group. During two centuries of bondage the ancestral languages and culture of the original Africans disappeared along with the genetic differences that characterized the original Africans although some Africansims were retained within a new African syncretism. African American or Black culture developed due to shared experiences of racism and oppression, the development of a common language and idioms, concentration of persons of African descent in primarily segregated geographic locales and the evolution of distinct religious practices, traditions, values, beliefs and food preferences. Core values and behaviors characteristic of the African American community as a whole include strong religious or spiritual beliefs, and a family structure characterized by multi-generational kinship networks and achievement orientations (Comas-Diaz, 1994; Dana, 1993; Hines and Boyd-Franklin, 1982). Individual African Americans vary in their knowledge of Black culture and the degree to which they value traditional Black American culture which in turn may impact the individual's ability to manage race-related stress.

African American Acculturation

Introduction

A critical yet relatively unexplored area of Black psychology is how acculturation status modifies the effects of the quality of Black identity development and ultimately its impact on one's ability to manage race-related stress. Recently, psychologists and scientists from other disciplines have begun to debunk the construct of race by demonstrating that

race has no basis in scientific fact. Racial groups are not genetically discrete, reliably measured or scientifically meaningful (Smedley & Smedley, 2005, Zuckerman, 1998). If scholars increasingly move away from a racialized science that explains human differences in behavior in terms of immutable biological differences then one must move towards other empirically supported constructs to explain individual variation in adaptation and adjustment to a multicultural society. Although psychologists have most often thought of African Americans as comprising a racial group the aforementioned facts warrant a re-conceptualization of African Americans as a unique ethnic-cultural group whose members undergo an acculturation process in an attempt to adjust to a multicultural society. The relationship of an individual African American woman to her culture of origin remains significant because of barriers that continue to exist to full participation in mainstream American culture (Adelman, 2005; Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). The acculturation process for African Americans is shaped by factors such as the length of time in the United States, region of family origin and residence, regional differences in the practice of slavery, relative amount of contact with both Blacks, especially African born Blacks, and Whites, legal status and timing of emancipation, occupation, access to education and ability to participate voluntarily in the market economy and to freely assemble with other Blacks. Each of these factors contributes to the degree to which an individual African American woman maintains knowledge and connection to her culture of origin. All African American women possess some knowledge of mainstream American culture, however, the focus of this study is on the importance of African American culture to the individual African American woman. (See Appendix A for a detailed discussion of sociocultural and historical factors that have shaped the acculturation process for African Americans).

Landrine's Theory of African American Acculturation

Hope Landrine and Elizabeth Klonoff (1996) developed a novel theory of acculturation in African Americans in an attempt to understand African Americans as a distinct ethnic-cultural group. Psychologists have most often understood African Americans in terms of race. Behavior has been viewed as stemming from genetic/racial differences rather than due to an interaction of intrapsychic, social and cultural factors. The development of an acculturation model for African Americans may provide an important theoretical basis for understanding the impact of ethnicity and culture on the mental health of African Americans. It is hoped that by considering behavioral differences as resulting from different levels of acculturation, one may move away from race or genetic based explanations of diverse behavior.

Existing models of acculturation have focused on several ethnic-cultural groups. However, an acculturation scale had never been developed for African Americans. The belief that African Americans form a racial group has led to the negation of the importance of the role of culture in the lives of African Americans (Landrine, 1996, Lambert and Taylor, 1990). Previous models of acculturation may be categorized as follows

1. Assimilation Models – Acculturation is a unidirectional process with members of the minority, ethnic-cultural group becoming absorbed by the dominant ethnic-cultural group thus becoming fully acculturated (assimilated).
2. Acculturation Models – Acculturation is a unidirectional process with minority ethnic-cultural group members adapting to the dominant culture while maintaining important aspects of their original culture resulting in highly acculturated individuals.
3. Alternation/Additive Models of Acculturation – In this model of acculturation ethnic-cultural minorities add the dominant culture to their own culture repertoire. The individual becomes part of two cultures (bicultural). Individuals in the additive model of acculturation are alternating or blended biculturals. Alternating biculturals switch from one culture to another. They live in two distinct cultural worlds. Blended biculturals select aspects of the dominant culture and add them to their own culture of origin.

(LaFramboise, Coleman and Gerton, 1993, p. 16).

African Americans form a unique ethnic-cultural group for several reasons. African Americans are considered “old” immigrants since they have been in this country for many generations. African Americans, in contrast to newer immigrants, may begin the acculturation process at the bicultural or acculturated level depending upon the status of their parents. The aforementioned acculturation models are not suitable for African Americans because they posit a unidirectional process of acculturation; individuals start out as traditional and move towards acculturation. The process of African American acculturation may reflect a more circular process whereas individuals may start out at any point along a continuum of acculturation and move in either direction. For instance, an acculturated African American may become dissatisfied with life in the dominant culture for a variety of reasons and decide to renew or increase contact with the African American community (neotraditional) (Landrine, 1996).

Existing models of acculturation may be inadequate models for African American acculturation because complete assimilation for African Americans may not be possible or desirable due to skin color and discrimination based on differences in physical appearance. In addition, the majority of African Americans cannot melt into the dominant European American culture in the manner in which some other ethnic groups have done because of the continued devaluation of dark skin in American society (Comas Diaz & Greene, 1994; Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Smedley and Smedley, 2005; West, 1993). Many African Americans also have a strong desire to maintain their own cultural heritage. These African Americans take pride in their ethnic roots and believe that it is important for African Americans to understand their history so that they can better manage attempts by the dominant culture to label them as inferior. There is a desire to maintain traditional African American

communities as a safe haven to protect against the stress attendant to contact with the dominant culture. African Americans may continue to interact in the larger dominant culture while returning to the traditional community for sustenance (Lambert & Taylor, 1990; Landrine and Klonoff, 1990).

African Americans form an ethnic-cultural rather than racial group. All ethnic-cultural groups share common characteristics. All ethnic-cultural communities function as semi-autonomous, ethnic-cultural enclaves. Ethnic enclaves are defined as physically and spatially segregated concentrations of ethnic groups in geographically distinct areas with more or less homogeneous populations. Segregation occurs due to discrimination and choice. Ethnic enclaves are responsible for maintaining and perpetuating a group identity through the socialization of group members and maintenance of duplicate institutions (Landrine, 1996)

Duplicate institutions are analogous and parallel to mainstream institutions yet noncomplementary. Duplicate institutions may include churches, schools, social and political organizations, clinics and hospitals, nightclubs and press. Members of the ethnic-cultural community are socialized in the ways of their community via the family and duplicate institutions. Duplicate institutions are most prevalent within ethnic enclaves. However, proliferation of duplicate institutions occurs outside of ethnic enclaves as well, thus insuring the culturally specific socialization of members who reside outside of ethnic enclaves. Ethnic enclaves are “geographically diverse and maintain contact with one another via duplicate institutions and informal personal networks” (Landrine, p. 48). Ethnic enclaves are made up of individuals of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds (Landrine, 1996).

The existence of large within group differences within African American enclaves is important to note. This demonstrates the importance of understanding African Americans

as a unique ethnic-cultural group. Social classes among African Americans differ in income, occupation, and educational status when compared with the dominant culture (Bass, 1982; Dana, 1993; Stricker, 1980). The African American upper class contains 10 percent, the middle class includes 40 percent and the lower class 50 percent of the African American population. By contrast, the European American ethnic-cultural group contains a six class structure with 15 percent in the capitalist and upper classes, 60 percent in the roughly equal sized middle and working classes and 25 percent in the working poor and underclasses (Gilbert and Kahl 1987 in Dana, 1993). Furthermore neighborhood of residence does not equate to homogeneity of residents for African Americans as there are a variety of the three lower middle-classes in segregated urban neighborhoods (H. F. Myers 1982 in Dana, 1993). These findings also suggest that socioeconomic status is independent of acculturation status. Ethnic enclaves form the **minority local environment** whereas areas outside of ethnic enclaves form the **dominant local environment** (Landrine, 1996).

Ethnic-cultural groups also contain parent groups. Parent groups are very important towards maintaining ethnic enclaves. These members are the keepers of tradition and some members wield considerable power within the ethnic enclave. Parent group members have always remained traditional and never acculturate. They also practice endogamy thus maintaining their traditional status and the traditional status of their progeny. They often come from families that have lived in the ethnic enclave for several generations. Members of the parent group also act as a resource for members of the ethnic enclave. They provide practical and emotional support and make decisions regarding how resources of the ethnic enclave are distributed (Landrine, 1996).

An important function of the ethnic enclaves is to facilitate ethnic socialization. Ethnic socialization includes information one receives about ones ethnic-cultural group. It

also includes messages about the dominant cultural group. The quality and content of the messages received during ethnic socialization will prove significant in the process and outcome of acculturation. Specifically, the congruence of the causal and explanatory attributions regarding racism and discrimination which the individual experiences will significantly effect the amount of stress one experiences due to acculturation. Hence, greater discrepancy between the messages internalized regarding the dominant group and actual experience with the dominant group result in the experience of more acculturative stress (Landrine, 1996).

Landrine and Klonoff, (1996) hypothesize that parental figures communicate the following messages about the dominant group

1. *The dominant group is all bad.* This message includes the belief that all members of the dominant group are racist and hostile due to their innate nature. Mistreatment by the dominant group members is a foregone conclusion.
2. *The dominant group is made up of individuals who differ significantly in their treatment of members of our ethnic-cultural group.* This message carries the belief that some members of the dominant cultural group will mistreat you and others will not. Discrimination is attributed to ignorance or lack of information. Intergroup relations can improve with increased interaction between differing ethnic-cultural groups.
3. *The dominant group is all good.* The teaching here includes the message that members of the dominant group are more intelligent, sophisticated and cultured than members of our group. Members of the dominant cultural group discriminate against members of our group until the individual demonstrates that they are the exception to the masses of their ethnic-cultural group. When it is clear that you are the exception to the rule then you will be treated fairly by the dominant cultural group. (p. 52)

Principles of African American Acculturation

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) posit that acculturation is dynamic, dialectical and/or a circular process. An important principle in the African American acculturation is the **principle of return**. It is hypothesized that over the lifespan, all African Americans return to the traditions and values of their culture of origin regardless of their initial acculturation status due to the discomfort faced in the dominant local environment from racism and

discrimination. There may also be a sense of isolation and loss due to alienation from the culture of origin and lack of satisfaction with the mainstream European American culture. Pressures to return to the culture of origin may also arise when children wish to know about their heritage or when parents wish to provide their children with a solid cultural foundation and the necessary skills to combat racism and discrimination. Thus, African Americans return to their African American roots. These individuals are considered neotraditional as opposed to members of the parent group who are traditional and have never known life outside of the minority local environment. Neotraditional individuals, especially those who return due to discrimination, know the dominant culture well and consciously reject it (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) state that acculturation occurs through the processes of fractionization and allopatricity. Acculturation does not occur in a slow and steady process but rather occurs through the transformation of small fraction of individuals or families who are less traditional to begin with (fractionization). Fractionization occurs through allopatricity. Allopatric individuals are individuals who are “in another place”. They differ from traditional persons in a way that is recognized by members of the ethnic enclave. Visible differences may be physical as with individuals of mixed heritage. If both parents are African Americans, allopatricity may result from a) early positive experiences with the dominant cultural group, b) frequent contact with the dominant cultural group through work, school or living in an integrated neighborhood, c) frequent negative experience with one’s own cultural group and/or d) being selected by the family as the member who will acculturate and subsequent punishment for culturally specific behaviors (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Individuals who acculturate must have extensive contact with the dominant cultural group. The principle of the *quality of contact* states that the nature of contact with the dominant cultural group will affect the nature, speed, and path of the acculturative process. The principle of *ethnic socialization* states that the messages learned about the dominant cultural group will interact with the experience in the dominant local environment to determine the degree of acculturative stress. Acculturative stress occurs only for those individuals whose early messages about the dominant cultural group conflict with their experiences in the dominant local environment (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Landrine and Klonoff (1996) hypothesize that the process of acculturation occurs due to social comparison processes as theorized by Festinger (1954): African Americans become acculturated or bicultural by comparing themselves to the dominant cultural group within the dominant local environment and appraise the extent to which their behavioral repertoire is acceptable within that dominant local environment. Behaviors similar to those of the dominant group become discriminative stimuli that signal reinforcement. Behaviors and stimuli absent from the dominant cultural group, but present for the acculturating minority person become discriminative stimuli indicating that punishment is coming. New behaviors specific to the dominant cultural group and acquired through social comparison processes and modeling may be blended into the individual's existing cultural repertoire (blended-bicultural), may replace one's existing repertoire (assimilated-acculturated), or may be added to one's existing cultural repertoire and engaged in only when in the dominant local environment (alternating-bicultural) (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Skin Color

Skin color remains a determinant variable in the lives of African Americans. Light skinned African Americans, as a group, have had more opportunities to participate, overall,

than darker skinned African Americans in mainstream society. This situation has existed since early in the development of African American culture. Mulattos who were the progeny of White slave owners were often given jobs working inside of the slave owner's home. These mulattos were often the product of forced sexual relationships between the slave owner and enslaved African women. It was not uncommon for house slaves to be manumitted after the slave owner's death (Lincoln, 1968). The belief that light skin was preferable or more attractive developed as an outgrowth of the racist ideology used to justify slavery. As a result, many African Americans have internalized the belief that the closer one was or is to White in appearance the better off one was in life. This was indeed validated by antebellum society as in fact light skin and other European features such as straight hair, were favored among society as a whole and African American society in particular until the 1960's. Reported opinions about skin color changed during the 1960's and 1970's with the rise of the Civil Rights and the Black is Beautiful Movements. African Americans began to take pride in their unique physical and cultural characteristics. However, whether admitted to or not, the effects of racism remain deeply entrenched within the African American psyche as well as in the larger American society that continues to function within an implicit/explicit framework of White supremacy. Conflicts around skin color and other physical attributes indicative of one's degree of "Blackness" continue to trouble many African Americans. One cannot imagine an adult African American who does not know what is meant by the terms "good hair" and "bad hair". Messages about skin color are by no means always explicit. One can develop perceptions and attitudes about physical attributes by observing others and their reactions to persons of various shades (Franklin, 1969, Helms, 1990, Sowell, 1981). Issues about skin color and other physical characteristics can be

especially problematic for African American women. Physical attractiveness (individual perceptions and social responses) is an important social variable for women (Greene, 1994).

A preliminary study of the relationship between acculturation, skin color and racism found that although light skinned and dark skinned African Americans experienced the same levels of racism, light skinned African Americans were significantly more acculturated than dark skinned African Americans (Landrine, 1996). These results indicate that skin color accounts for a significant portion of the variance with regard to acculturation (11.5%). However, skin color by no means accounts for the whole story with regard to acculturation. Further studies assessing the relationship of acculturation and skin color are needed to discover whether the trend holds up with a larger sample of African Americans. This preliminary study appears to be consistent with sociohistorical aspects of African American culture (Landrine, 1996). Skin color has also been correlated with perceptions of discrimination (Keith & Herring, 1991; Udry, Bauman, & Chae, 1971) as well as occupational status (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Keith & Herring, 1991;) and personal income (Keith & Herring, 1991).

Racism as a Stressor

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define stress as a particular relationship between person and environment that is appraised by the person as taxing or compromising his or her resources and endangering his or her well-being. Systematic exploration of individual differences in the response to environmental stressors emerged as a result of the observation that individual soldiers varied greatly in their responses to exposure to war related trauma. Coping involves the individual's efforts, through cognitive and behavioral efforts, to manage external or internal threats that the individual appraises as exceeding his or her resources.

The individual's appraisal of the threat involves assessing the situation and determining whether one has the resources necessary for coping with it (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984).

Stress theory suggests that the greater prevalence of psychological distress in groups with lower socioeconomic status is a result of both greater exposure to stress and less access to stress buffering resources. However, stress exposure alone does not explain the pervasive inverse relationship between social status and the development of psychological symptoms.

Racial stress is defined as the psychological discomfort that results from a situation or event that an individual appraises as troubling because of racial discrimination or isolation. Culture plays an important role in defining stressors, promoting particular coping strategies and providing the context in which coping occurs (Plummer & Slane, 1996). Attention to the relationship between person and environment is critical. Knowing that racism is a stressor will tell us little about its impact on an individual African American woman's long term well-being unless we understand the salience of race and the importance of African American culture for the individual woman as well.

Primary appraisal involves determining whether 1) a situation poses a threat; 2) the potential for harm or loss; 3) judgment as to whether the situation is benign or positive; 4) deciding whether or not the situation presents a challenge. Secondary appraisal involves determining whether one has the necessary resources for coping with the stressful situation. Secondary appraisal is determining whether the necessary procedures are present for coping. The process of appraisal is dynamic with primary and secondary appraisals interacting to determine the degree of stress and the strength and quality of the emotional response. Racial stress may arise when the individual determines that there is a mismatch between him or herself and the environment (Plummer & Slane, 1996). Although African Americans are susceptible to exposure to racism at any time its deleterious effects may not become

manifest. Kessler, Mickelson & Williams (1999) found a lifetime prevalence rate of 61% with regard to the experience of day to day racism for African Americans. Lazarus and Folkman (1984) state that any pathogen must encounter a susceptible host before illness is produced. The way that racist stimuli are appraised has a significant impact on long term well-being. The amount of support that an individual African American woman has will also impact her susceptibility to race-related stress.

Stress emerges from normative events that involve major alterations in social roles that are regular and expectable; non-normative events that are comprised of crises that are common yet not easily predicted, and persistent role problems that are relatively ongoing in daily life experience. Persistent role problems cause chronic frustration and hardships that must be managed within the context of the fulfillment of daily expectations with regard to occupational or interpersonal relationships. Stress is also shaped by changes in culture and societal structure and changes in the individual that result from aging. Although variables such as acculturation and ethnic identity may be considered distal variables, their influence on stress, adaptation and satisfaction may be understood by measuring the more proximal variables that they influence such as appraisal, commitment and beliefs (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Ethnic identity type and acculturation status influence appraisal, commitment and beliefs. There is constant need for change and adaptation to manage racism as it occurs in a variety of different contexts.

Appraisal and coping processes affect adaptation to work and social living, life satisfaction, and somatic health. The quality of social functioning may be psychologically defined as satisfaction with interpersonal relationships and the fulfillment of various social roles that themselves are developed through the individual's personal history and culture. Individual women develop expectations and beliefs regarding dependency, autonomy, and

trust. Both personal and cultural factors lead the individual woman to a particular constellation of social roles and relationships (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

Appraisal links the person and environment, therefore both person factors and environmental factors must be measured in order to understand the particular African American woman's response to stress due to racism. Factors within the person that increase vulnerability to stress include commitment and beliefs. Commitment and beliefs of the individual affect their appraisal of racist encounters in the following manner:

1. Determine what is salient for well-being in a particular encounter with racism.
2. Shape the understanding of the event by determining what facets of the situation the individual is sensitive to. This will result in the individual moving toward or away from situations that either challenge or threaten them.
3. Shapes the person's understanding of the consequences of emotional responses and coping efforts and provides the basis for evaluating outcomes.

(Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

Paradoxically, while commitment to a particular goal or outcome increases vulnerability to experience threat or harm when there is a perceived threat to said goal it also may lead a person toward a course of action that reduces threat and sustains coping efforts. Commitment has motivational and emotional properties that affect coping efforts, persistence, and the tendency to move toward or move away from a particular situation (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

Lazarus and Folkman (1984) define beliefs as pre-existing notions that exist within the individual and help to determine perceived facts. Beliefs are formed by the individual or are culturally shared configurations. Beliefs are often unconscious unless a situation is encountered where beliefs are contradicted, lost or converted to another belief system.

Aspects of an individual's belief system that affect appraisal include beliefs about personal control and beliefs about God, fate and justice. In situations that are perceived as ambiguous person factors become even more important because there is less information in the stimulus that is useful. Ambiguity is experienced as more threatening because the individual perceives less control which may result in greater feelings of helplessness and more emphasis on controlling one's emotions rather than problem solving. Most stressful situations, racism in particular, are ambiguous (Jones and Shorter-Gooden, 2003; Lazarus and Folkman, 1984; Sellers and Shelton, 2003).

Coping

Coping is defined as constantly changing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands (Lazarus and Folkman, p. 141). Coping functions are strategies and should be distinguished from outcomes. Problem focused coping functions are directed at managing or changing the problem causing distress while emotion focused coping functions are designed to control one's emotional responses to the stressful stimulus. Emotion focused coping more commonly occurs when the situation is appraised as not being modifiable. Efforts to manage stress may involve both emotion and problem focused coping. Emotion focused coping may involve avoidance, minimization, distancing, selective attention, positive comparisons and taking positive meaning from negative events.

Problem focused coping efforts frequently involves defining the problem, generating alternative solutions, working through the costs and benefits of a particular response, choosing a response and then acting. Problem focused coping may involve efforts directed toward the environment or internal processes (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Efforts focused on altering the situation may include changing environmental pressures, removing barriers, or influencing procedures and resources. Problem focused strategies directed inward include

changing aspirations, improving skills, finding alternative means of gratification or modifying standards for behavior (Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, Snoek, and Rosenthal, 1964).

Appraisal and coping efforts are rooted in culture and are important because they affect the quality of adaptation to work and social life, which, in turn, influence life satisfaction and somatic health. (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Stress emerges when there is a mismatch between culturally prescribed aspirations and avenues available in the culture to realize these aspirations. Acculturation level and ethnic identity development may influence appraisal because these factors shape the commitments and beliefs that an individual forms, and thus the experience of race-related stress itself.

Impact of Race-related stress

Harrell (2000) defined racism as a system of dominance, power, and privilege based on racial-group designations; rooted in the historical oppression of a group defined or perceived by dominant group-members as inferior, deviant, or undesirable; and occurring in circumstances where members of the dominant group create or perpetuate their societal privilege by maintaining structures, ideology, values, and behavior that have the intent or effect of leaving nondominant-group members relatively excluded from power, esteem, status, and/or equal access to societal resources. In the United States belief in the superiority of Whites and inferiority of people of color is legitimized by societal structures that exclude African Americans from resources and power. African Americans are then blamed for their failures that result from lack of access (Pinderhughes, 1989). Racism is a distinctly social phenomenon affecting all Americans. All Whites benefit from racism without regard to their individual beliefs, attitudes or behaviors. The degree to which individual African Americans successfully cope with stress due to racism surely affects their physical and mental health status (Clark, Anderson, Clark & Williams, 1999; Harrell, 2000,

Jones, 1997; Utsey, 2000). A key responsibility of African American parents is to teach their children how to deal with racism (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

The concept of stress has been identified as a particularly useful way of understanding and measuring racism among African Americans. Conceptualizations of race-related stress are often grounded in the theoretical framework of Lazarus and Folkman's 1984 model of stress and coping. Despite the recognition of racism as a stressor there have been few attempts to integrate variables that incorporate race and culture in studies of stress (Harrell, 2000).

There has been some improvement in the attitudes of Whites toward Blacks in the last three decades (Schuman, Steeh & Bobo, 1985) but continued evidence of inequality fueled by racism continues to exist (Jaynes & Williams, 1989). Hughes and Thomas (1998) measured the quality of life experience in Black persons and compared them to the quality of life experiences by Whites and found that even when income, education, work status, marital status and age are controlled, significant differences in the quality of life remain between the two groups. Wealthier Blacks were not immune to the general trend of lower quality of life when compared to Whites. Younger Blacks were less satisfied than older Blacks. Hughes and Thomas conclude that quality of life is lower for Blacks than for Whites overall due to the greater tendency of Blacks to experience discrimination.

Farrell and Jones (1988) found evidence of intergroup racism in higher education. Racism also was found in the restaurant industry (Schuman, Singer, Donovan & Selitz, 1983), housing rentals and sales (Ayers, 1991) and hiring practices (Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991). Subjective experiences of racism have been documented as well (Feagin, 1991; Greene, 1994; Jones and Shorter-Gooden, 2003 and Pierce, 1970). The measurement of race-related stress may prove fruitful in elucidating disparities in health outcomes that

persist between the races even when controlling for education and income. Furthermore, the study of race-related stress, acculturation and racial identity development may assist social scientists in developing greater understanding of within group differences among Blacks in life satisfaction.

Although the Lazarus and Folkman model has been widely adopted by many researchers studying race-related stress, some modifications have been made to make the model even more responsive to race-related stress. Outlaw (1993) removed the benign positive and irrelevant appraisals as possible outcomes of an appraisal of racist encounters because encounters with racism are thought to be universally threatening. African Americans may also respond to threats in a passive manner such as when exposure to racism is met with withdrawal, avoidance or depression. When exposure to racism is appraised as a challenge, outcomes may be more positive. Although coping efforts are mobilized in stressful situations that are appraised as threatening, challenge appraisals may result in personal growth where the individual African American learns to master or manage the stressful encounter that involves racism. Challenge appraisals are thought to result in positive affective states characterized by pleasurable emotions such as eagerness, excitement, and exhilaration associated with mastery. Challenge appraisals are thought to result in better health outcomes when compared to threat appraisals because they preserve morale, quality of functioning and somatic health (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

The experience of racism is multidimensional. Jones (1997) discussed a tripartite typology of racism that African Americans may experience. Individual racism is when one experiences racism on a personal level. Institutional and social racism occur when one is excluded from full participation in society. Cultural racism is present when the cultural practices of the dominant group are regarded as superior to the cultural practices of the

subordinate group. The different forms of racism require different coping efforts and may have dissimilar effects on perceived stress and mental health status.

Utsey, S., Ponterotto, J., Reynolds, A. and Cancelli, A. (2000) conducted an exploratory study of perceived racism and its relationship to coping, life satisfaction and self-esteem among African Americans. Utsey et. al gave the Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS: S.O. Utsey & J. G. Ponterotto, 1996), the Coping Strategy Indicator (CSI: J. H. Amirkhan, 1990); The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; E. Diener, R. A. Emmons, R. J. Larsen & S. Griffin, 1985) and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (M. Rosenberg, 1965) to 213, self-selected African American college students from predominantly Black colleges in the eastern and southern United States. The students ranged in age from 17 to 60 with a mean age of 21.35. There were 137 women and 76 men that participated in the study. Participants reported their parent's income and education since it was primarily a college sample. Most of the sample was of middle class background. When students from nonhistorically Black colleges were recruited they were from Black studies departments. The study was designed to explore whether African Americans use different types of coping strategies to manage stress associated with different types of racism and whether a relationship existed between different coping strategies and overall levels of race-related stress. Lastly, the researchers wanted to determine if there was a relationship between coping with racism and overall life satisfaction and self-esteem.

Utsey et. al found that African American women relied upon seeking social support substantially more often than men. Subsequent data analyses were done separately for men and women or included gender in the equation. They also found that women used different coping strategies for different types of racism encountered (individual, collective, cultural and institutional). Women preferred significantly more avoidant coping strategies for dealing

with individual racism than seeking social support or active problem solving focused coping strategies. The use of avoidant coping strategies was negatively correlated with self-esteem and life satisfaction. The use of denial and avoidance are commonly associated with less positive health outcomes and a personality that is rigid and less able to adapt to the external environment (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984; Freud, 1966). In the short term denial and avoidance may be adaptive in that they protect the individual from a noxious stimulus that is often experienced as extremely threatening but in the long term these forms of coping prevent the individual from realistically addressing the problem or taking suitable action (Farberow, 1980; Kinsman, Dirks, Jones and Dahlem, 1980; Goldstien, 1980; Surweit, Feinglos, & Scovern, 1983).

Utsey et. al. (2000) also found that African American men and women differed in coping strategies used to manage racism. Women relied upon social support much more frequently than men. The context in which racism existed also affected the type of coping strategy employed by women confronted with individual racism. The women confronted with individual racism in an interpersonal context preferred avoidance strategies more than problem-solving or seeking social support. Generally, seeking social support and reporting cultural racism were significant predictors of race-related stress in African Americans whereas the use of avoidance coping was a significant predictor of lower self-esteem and life satisfaction (Utsey et. al. 2000).

Limitations of the study conducted by Utsey et. al. include the use of a non-representative sample of students primarily from traditionally Black colleges. The choice of traditionally Black college on the part of students may be systematically related to the stressfulness of the experience of racism. This sample may be less diverse than the general population of African Americans. Students attending predominantly Black universities may

also experience less racism and have greater social support when compared with Black students who spend the majority of their time in an environment comprised of individuals primarily from the dominant culture.

Utsey et. al. posit that avoidance coping strategies are employed in individual interpersonal encounters with racism because of the intensity of ego threat and the tendency of participants to more readily perceive discrimination against their ethnic group rather than themselves as individual members of that ethnic group. The use of the personal/group discrepancy (Taylor, Wright, Moghaddam and Lalonde (1990) to explain the preference for avoidance coping strategies overlooks the finding that much racism encountered in an interpersonal context is ambiguous in nature (Jones and Shorter-Gooden, 2003, Greene, 1994, Smith, 1985). The findings of Taylor et. al. were also based on a sample of recent Haitian and South Asian immigrants to Canada thus limiting the generalizations of those results to African Americans that have extensive history and experience in the United States. Avoidance may be preferable in situations where the certainty of racism is difficult and costly to ascertain.

Appraisal of a stressful event is influenced by factors within the individual woman such as commitment to a particular goal. Commitment is positively correlated with vulnerability; the stronger the commitment to a particular goal or value the greater the vulnerability there is to appraise a particular stimulus as threatening (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). Women are generally more responsive to others and believe that the wishes and opinions of others should be considered before the appropriate course of action is determined. Gilligan (1977) asserts that women's morality involves a relational bias that makes not hurting others a primary value.

Social demands may be defined as normative patterns of expectation about behavior (Lazarus and Folkman, p. 238). When the individual fails to meet expectations and demands or violates social norms the individual may be punished with expressions of disapproval that threaten needs for belongingness and access to material goods and social advantages that allow women to achieve and sustain lifelong goals. Social demands create stress when they conflict with strongly held personal values, are associated with role ambiguity and when the requirements of social demands overload the individual woman's personal resources (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984).

African American women may be particularly vulnerable to race-related stress encountered in interpersonal contexts because valued relationships and resources may be threatened, the use of appropriate response may be ambiguous and the actions required to cope with race-related stress may overload the personal resources of the individual African American woman. Acculturation status and level of racial identity development are expected to impact the individual woman's vulnerability to race-related stress, the types of race-related stress that she is exposed to, her appraisal of the stimulus as overwhelming and the belief that one will be able to cope or manage racism.

An avoidant coping response in reaction to the threat of racism may be contrasted with the finding by Utsey et. al that seeking social support, coping and cultural racism were significant predictors of race-related stress. It may be that cultural racism which is public and available for sharing, confirmation and validation by other member society and one's ethnic group in particular. Racism that is shared with others may be more easily acknowledged and appraised as threatening whereas racism experienced on an individual basis may be more difficult to acknowledge because of its ambiguity and the lack of availability for consensual validation. Although cultural racism may be correlated with

greater perceived stress only avoidance coping was negatively correlated with self-esteem and life satisfaction. Although Utsey et. al describe cultural racism as less tangible the antithetical position may be more tenable. Interpersonal racism not buffered by social support may be perceived as much more threatening than cultural racism that is consensually validated. Acculturation and racial identity development may impact the types of racism that an individual is exposed to and the tendency to perceive racism.

Generalizations regarding the relationship between race-related stress, coping, and life satisfaction are at times difficult because of the variety of methodologies employed in studying the impact of race-related stress on coping and health. Plummer and Slane (1996) sought to study patterns of coping with race-related stress in Whites and Blacks. The study was grounded in Smith's (1985) integrative model of life stress and minority status. Smith hypothesized that culture provides the barometer for the stressfulness of any life event and asserts that race and minority status are stressors due to clear boundaries that are sanctioned between the in group and the out group through acts of discrimination (Smith, 1985). Out group members may experience stress related to rejection in one of three ways: verbal rejection (name calling, exposure to verbal animosity), discrimination (unfair or unequal treatment under the law), physical attack (lynching, assault, mob violence). Minority status places one at greater risk for alienation, social isolation, and marginality (Adelman, 2005; Mintz & Schwartz, 1964; Rabkin, 1979; Smith, 1985). Status inconsistency that is stressful is more likely to be experienced by middle class Blacks than lower income Blacks (Smith, 1985).

Plummer and Slane sought to determine if minority status was correlated with increased risk of stress. Plummer and Slane administered the Ways of Coping Questionnaire (WOCQ) to a total of 156 Blacks and 376 White participants under standard instructions

and under instructions to recall a racially stressful event. Blacks engaged in significantly more problem focused and emotion focused coping than Whites. Blacks did report more exposure to race-related stress with 25% of Blacks reporting that they “could not think of a specific situation” where they experienced stress due to perceived racism while 56% of Whites provided this response. Plummer and Slane suggest that the report of a greater use of a variety of coping strategies by Black reflects greater exposure and practice with situations where coping with racism is required.

In contrast to Utsey et. al. (2000) Plummer and Slane found that both Blacks and Whites engaged in more confrontational coping in stressful situations related to racism and sought social support less frequently. This seeming contradiction may be an artifact of measurement because Plummer and Slane asked participants to recall a situation or event where the participant believed they were discriminated against. They were also asked to recall a racially charged event that was important to them. Utsey et. al asked to describe an encounter with racism and instructed that in addition to personal experiences with racism participants could include incidents that happened with family members as long as it caused the relative (participant) personal stress. The instructions provided by Utsey et. al lend themselves to more passively experienced cultural forms of racism and socially modulated forms of race-related stress. These elicit less direct coping efforts, while Plummer and Slane use instructions that elicit more direct, interpersonal experiences of racism. Subjects were also required to write down their experiences of racism thus requiring greater recall on the part of the participant. The need to recall more direct experiences of race-related stress may have led to recall of events that were less ambiguous, hence demanding of a more immediate and direct response.

Harrell (2000) developed a model of race-related stress with four dimensions of racism that the individual African American encounters in different contexts. Racism encountered in the **interpersonal context** may involve direct and vicarious experiences of prejudice and discrimination. Interpersonal interactions may reflect individual, cultural, and institutional racism that is supported via cultural and institutional practices that provide environmental support for the expression of racism in interpersonal settings. The **collective context** of racism is manifested in differences in status and functioning of large groups of people. Racial disparities in educational achievement, employment, incidence and prevalence of disease and systematic differences in treatment in the criminal justice system constitute the collective context of racism. The **cultural-symbolic** context of racism involves the devaluing of nondominant racial/ethnic groups in art, media, literature, academia and science. Lastly, racism can occur within the **sociopolitical** context through politics, legislation, public discussions and institutional practices that address or incorporate ideology regarding race. The individual faces racism from each of these contexts simultaneously. Exposure to racism is hypothesized to affect life experience, external circumstances, internal characteristics and behavior of both dominant and subordinate group members (Harrell, 2000).

African Americans face ongoing stress due to the continuing need to manage assaults to self from exposure to racism. It is even difficult for African Americans to cope with racism in 2011 because it currently presents itself in subtle forms. Racism may be one of many possible explanations for mistreatment. Pierce (1970) describes the racist situations many African Americans confront on a recurrent basis as “microaggressions”. Microaggressions are small, often subtle acts that are often out of the awareness of both Whites and people of color. These acts require the constant negotiation of rage, humiliation

and/or rejection. Many African Americans feel that it is necessary for them to be constantly prepared to be rejected, humiliated or mistreated (Pinderhughes, 1989). In order to understand well-being in African Americans one must account for perceived racism and its impact on the mental health of the perceiver.

Coping with racism requires strong ego functioning. There is a need for sound judgment and reality testing, flexible and strong defenses, and sufficient understanding of the dynamics of racism. African Americans need positive self-esteem, positive racial identity and social support to remain healthy (Pinderhughes, 1989).

The role of racism in contributing to psychopathology may be evident in differences found in the rate of social phobia, simple phobia and agoraphobia over a one-month period comparing African Americans and Whites. These differences in the rates of the aforementioned phobias persisted despite controlling for education, occupational prestige, age, marital status and area of origin but acculturation was not formally measured. One suggestion for the findings was that African-Americans experience chronic stress due to racism (Neal & Turner, 1991). Researchers have also noted higher rates of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder in African Americans (Neal & Turner, 1991, Oxley, 1987, Parson, 1984). However, epidemiological studies of the impact of racism on the development of psychopathology have been criticized because they generally fail to include middle class and upper middle class African Americans, to measure the contribution of factors such as racial/ethnic identity development, acculturation and the frequency of exposure to stress that might impact the development of anxiety disorders or other pathological conditions. Studies that have included a measure of socioeconomic status (SES) suggest that SES may not account for the majority of the variance in differences observed in the development of psychopathology between African Americans and Whites (Carter, Sbrocco, Carter, 1996).

Carter et. al. state that ethnicity may be conceptualized as a variable comprised of two lower order, orthogonal factors. These factors include racial identity and acculturation. Racial identity and acculturation are combined to form ethnicity or one's lifestyle and culture. According to Carter et. al., the orthogonal nature of these factors makes it possible for an individual to be low on racial identity and high on acculturation, low on racial identity and low on acculturation, high on racial identity and low on acculturation, or high on racial identity and high on acculturation. Studying and measuring racial identity development and acculturation may help to increase our understanding of not only psychopathology, but of the maintenance of psychological well-being. This is possible because differences in racial identity and acculturation statuses are related to differences in beliefs and expectations about illness and well-being (Landrine & Klonoff, 1996).

Pope-Davis, Liu, Ledesman-Jones and Newitt (2000) examined the relationship between acculturation and racial identity development by examining the relationship between scores on the Black Racial Identity and Attitude Scale (J.F. Helms & T. A. Parham, (1990) and the AAAS (H. Landrine & E. Klonoff, 1995). The AAAS measures the degree to which an individual is oriented toward traditional African American culture so that a high score on the AAAS indicates a proclivity for African American culture while a low score is indicative of acculturation toward the dominant, mainstream culture. Pope-Davis et. al. theorize that although racial identity development and acculturation level are thought to be orthogonal they are often positively correlated. Becoming aware of one's racial identity may lead to interest and curiosity about one's cultural heritage. The researchers then hypothesized that as one's racial identity develops there is a concurrent preference for African American culture. They hypothesize that acculturation scores will be low when

individuals have Pre-Encounter attitudes and high when individuals have reached the stage of Internalization.

Pope-Davis et. al. (2000) found that acculturation toward African American culture was lowest when individuals were at the Pre-Encounter stage of development and highest during the Immersion stage and low again in Emersion. Acculturation toward African American culture was also low in the Internalization Stage. The positive relationship between high acculturation toward African American culture and Immersion is theoretically expectable given Cross's description of Immersion. Although, Pope-Davis hypothesized that African American acculturation should be highest with an internalized identity they found that their hypothesis was not supported. Internalization was associated with low scores on the AAAS. Although, Pope-Davis expected a positive correlation between identity and acculturation this belies their earlier contention that identity and acculturation are orthogonal. In addition, Cross and Vandiver (2001) and Vandiver, et al. (2001) state that internalized individuals may be Black nationalists, have bicultural identities or be multiculturalists. Although the individual has a positive attitude toward his or her own Blackness and should theoretically have knowledge of African American culture he or she is not bound to any one way of being in the world. The AAAS is about preferences with regard to ideal attitudes and behavior while identity is about the importance and affective quality attached to membership in one's ethnic group. Perhaps, we should expect to find high acculturation toward African American culture among Black nationalists only. It is also possible that the results are not typical of the African American community as the average age of the sample was very young (men, $X = 20.09$; women $X = 18.95$).

Ethnic or Racial Identity

Racial identity refers to the quality or manner of one's identification with their respective racial/ethnic group. Black racial identity theories typically describe various ways in which African Americans can identify or not identify with other African Americans and/or adopt or abandon identities resulting from victimization. The term "race" is a fallacious one that has no basis in scientific fact. Landrine (1996) defines race as a group that are socially defined based on physical criteria. An ethnic group refers to groups that are socially defined based on cultural criteria. Race causes one to focus on physical differences as important criteria for explaining differences, including psychological phenomena. Ethnicity causes one to seek explanations for differences in behaviors and customs (Landrine, 1996; Smedley & Smedley, 2005, Zuckerman, 1998,). A central tenet of the current study is that African Americans form an ethnic rather than racial group. However, having said that racial categorization has no scientific basis does not negate the fact that the **perception** of race remains a very powerful social and political force. Perception consists of instantaneous, often unconscious interpretations and conclusions about stimuli based on taxonomies given by one's culture. "To perceive is not to passively receive but to automatically, unconsciously impose, interpret, and conclude." (Landrine, p. 14). Thus, we respond to race as if it is an objective biological category rather than a socially constructed one because it is an important taxonomy within American culture. Race is responded to as a fact of nature, rather than as a sociopolitical construction used to legitimize the oppression of one group by another (Landrine, 1996; Smedley & Smedley, 2005).

It is important to note that African Americans remain the only racialized minority ethnic group in the United States. This situation most likely evolved and continues because of the need to justify slavery in the past. The study of acculturation in African Americans

may help to move psychologists toward a more accurate assessment of African Americans. That is the recognition of the fact that African Americans form an ethnic group. The study of acculturation is seen as compatible with studies of “racial” identity because all African Americans must negotiate the process of identity formation in an atmosphere where race is treated as a fact (Gomez, 1998; Herskovits, 1958; Landrine, 1996; Smedley & Smedley 2005).

Racial identity development has been studied within the framework of stage models where individuals at different stages of racial identity development have qualitatively different ways of being in the world in terms of their emotional, behavioral and cognitive expressions. The emotional component involves feelings, tastes and preferences (Cross, 1995). According to Cross (1991), these differences are reflected in personal identity, reference group orientation, and ascribed identity. Personal identity concerns one’s feelings, thoughts and behaviors. Reference group orientation refers to the extent to which one uses one’s racial group to guide one’s feelings, thoughts, and behaviors. Ascribed identity pertains to the individual’s deliberate affiliation or commitment to a particular racial group. Theoretically, each person can move from the least developed stage to the most developed stage (Helms, 1990). (See page 67 for a description of each stage).

Historical Perspectives on Ethnic Identity and Well-being

Attempts to understand the significance of being Black in a White world by the mental health community date back to the second decade of the twentieth century. Cross (1991) reports that no fewer than three of the fifteen articles published in the first volume of the **Psychoanalytic Review** in 1913 focused on “the psychology of the Negro”. The psychiatrist John E. Lind (1913-1914) based his understanding of “Negro character” on the work of Alfred Adler who believed that a great deal of character disturbance is related to a sense of inferiority (Lind in Cross, 1991). Adler’s ideas regarding inferiority emerged at a

time when many were seeking explanation for self-hatred among European Jews (Gilman, 1986 in Cross, 1991). Kurt Lewin's (1941) ideas regarding Jewish self-hatred represent the condensation of these ideas and would later provide the foundation for the thesis about "Negro self-hatred" that dominated studies of African Americans from 1939 to 1960. Lewin presented group identity as a powerful determinant of personality. Such an assumption would be treated as axiomatic by later theorists on Negro identity, (i. e. Kenneth Clark (1950).

Ruth Horowitz (1939) conducted the first modern study of racial identity in Black and White children. Horowitz studied twenty-four children. Her sample included seventeen White children (eleven boys and six girls) and seven were Black children, (five boys and two girls. The age range for both groups was two years, three months to five years, one month. Horowitz administered two tests. The children were asked "Show me which one is you." In response to three tasks: 1)a pair of photographs showing a Negro boy and a White boy 2)a pair of line drawings showing a Negro boy and a White boy, and 3)a set of line drawings showing a Negro boy, a White boy, a clown and a chicken. The girls were asked to self identify on the first item; for the remaining items they were asked to identify their brothers or cousins. The boys were asked to self identify on all items. The second projective technique named the portrait series, contained ten portrait pictures shown one at a time. Each child was asked, "Is this you? Is this _____(name of child.))?" (Horowitz, 1939).

With the choice tests, the results showed that the proportion of Negro and White children making incorrect self-identifications were nearly identical across stimuli (photos and line drawings). Both Black and White girls were consistent in their choice of self-identifications whether using photos or line drawings. Horowitz focused on male respondents as they provided more contrast. On the choice tests Black boys outperformed

White boys with thirty-three percent consistently making correct identifications as opposed to twenty percent of White boys. This finding was not emphasized. However, the results of the portrait series received considerable emphasis and analysis.

With the portrait series, Black boys' selections were incorrect forty-two percent of the time. The selections of White boys were incorrect twenty-five percent of the time (Horowitz, 1939). Although, the finding appears highly statistically significant, Cross (1991) places the significance of the results in context. After analyzing the statistics, Cross came to the conclusion that two children from an already small sample of five Black boys were dropped, leaving a sample of three. The very small sample size seriously comprised external validity. Despite the obvious limitations concomitant to such a small sample and evidence that both Black and White children committed errors in self-identification, Horowitz went on to assert that Negro children exhibit wishful thinking, that is, a desire to be White.

Horowitz (1939) explained that the superior performance of Negro children on the choice tests was due to earlier awareness of racial differences and greater reality constraints with the forced-choice, paired comparison format of the choice test. The greater reality constraints of the choice test suppressed the wishful thinking of Black children whereas in the portrait series there was not a comparative frame. Horowitz believed that the greater reality constraints of the choice tests suppressed the wishful thinking of Black children whereas in the portrait series there was not a comparative frame. Horowitz believed that the absence of a comparative frame permitted the Negro children to engage in more wishful thinking that supposedly revealed unconscious processing (Horowitz, 1939 in Cross, 1991).

Cross (1991) characterizes Horowitz's conclusions as the beginning of a long line of truths, half truths and exaggerations in research on Negro self-identity. Cross questions the

validity of Horowitz' original study on Negro self-identity and later works grounded in Horowitz's initial assumptions.

Cross' 1971 Nigrescence model is perhaps the most widely used model of racial identity development (Cokely, 2002; Cross, 2001, Vandiver, Cross, and Worrell, 2002). The original scale describes how Blacks in America progress through a series of five stages that ultimately result in the achievement of healthy Black identity. The model was subsequently operationalized with the development of the Racial Identity and Attitudes Scale (RIAS, Parham & Helms, 1981). The original theoretical model contained five stages of Nigrescence: Pre-encounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion and Internalization. Originally the Pre-encounter stage referred to Eurocentric worldviews and rejection of Blackness. This stage was associated with a desire for complete assimilation. The Encounter stage described an individual who had just encountered or was in the midst of experiencing a salient event that causes the individual to rethink his or her pre-encounter ideas about Blackness. The encounter may take the form of one very affectively charged event or it may be a series of events that have a cumulative effect resulting in a profound awakening of the individual. (Cross, 2001; Cokley, 2001, Helms, 1990; Vandiver, Fhagen-Smith, Peony and Cokley, 2001,). The encounter has two necessary steps: the first step involving the experience of the event and the second step involves personalizing the event. The encounter will not have a significant effect on the individual's identity unless the individual personalizes the event (Cross, 2001). Stage three is the stage of Immersion-Emersion where the individual is in transition. In the first phase of stage three, one enters Immersion where the old identity is not sustainable but the new identity has not yet developed. The individual wholly rejects the old identity and must engage in intense, concrete, highly visible acts to shore up the new identity which is not yet fully internalized.

Hallmarks of the beginnings of this stage involve the adoption of Afrocentric dress, hairstyles, flags, and speech that are rigidly adopted. There is intense involvement with all things Black, including active participation in pro-Black groups and denigration of objects and behavior that are viewed as representative of White culture. As the new identity becomes internalized and more authentic the individual shifts to the second half of stage 3 called Emersion where there is a leveling off and less intense feeling. This often comes with a more sophisticated, less romanticized understanding of Black identity, and the recognition of the first stage as transitory in nature. The fourth stage is one where the new identity has been internalized and the individual is at ease with Blackness. There is also less hatred of Whiteness. Finally in the fifth stage, Internalization-Commitment, there is not only internalization and acceptance of a Black identity, but also a commitment to improve the lot of the Black community through activism. In the original theory, internalization was associated with self actualization and better mental health (Vandiver et. al., 2001).

Continued Development of Cross's Theory of Black Identity Development

In 1991, Cross published a comprehensive review of research in Black racial identity development. Cross (2001) determined that although the general validity of Nigrescence theory had been confirmed in numerous studies some revisions were necessary in light of empirical research and criticism of scholars such as Joseph Baldwin, Howard Stevenson and Jerome Taylor. In particular, there were reported difficulties with the psychometric properties of the instruments constructed to operationalize Cross's (1971) model of nigrescence (Cokley, 2002), and conceptual limitations were identified by Baldwin, Stevenson, and Taylor (cited in Cross, 2001). Major conceptual limitations included the following:

- The Pre-Encounter stage was not only inclusive of self-hating Blacks. The majority of Blacks in this stage evidence an identity that has low salience for race but not necessarily hatred for Blacks. Their health status may not be pathological because the functions of identity are fulfilled by identifying with other identities not related to being Black. They embrace a worldview where being Black is not important. They may identify with other groups based on gender, class, professional identity, political affiliation, etc. Traditional self-hating Blacks remain a part of this group but the unifying dynamic for this stage is that individuals at the Pre-Encounter stage of racial identity development give low salience to race.
- The conceptualization of the Internalization stage gives greater credence to Black Nationalists than in the original model where intense involvement with organizations that have an exclusive focus on the advancement of Blacks was de-emphasized in favor of a more humanistic stance; the revised model recognizes that many Blacks that have achieved internalization remain intensely nationalistic and indeed nationalism may continue to grow. There is a tremendous amount of ideological diversity among Blacks with an Internalized sense of racial identity (Cross, 2001; Cross and Vandiver, 1995, Vandiver, et. al., 2001).
- Identity development is not for the most part associated with personality development and, therefore, racial identity development does not greatly impact general personality or the personal identity component of self-concept. Blacks who have an internalized racial identity express greater race salience. Racial identity development primarily affects value systems,

worldview, and/or reference group orientation. One should not expect to find a strong relationship between an individual's stage of racial identity development and his or her personality and mental health status. (Cross, 2001; Cross, 1991; Cross and Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver, et. al., 2001).

Cross (1991) examined several studies that measured racial identity development as it related to various personality attributes and mental statuses. He concluded that racial identity development was about that aspect of self, related to group identity and, therefore, not an indicator of general personality or well-being (See *Shades of Black*, 1991). Little personality or self-esteem change occurs with the development of a Black identity but changes in worldview, value systems and reference group orientation are commonly observed. Advanced identity development is associated with nationalism, biculturalism or multiculturalism (Cross, 1995). However, racial identity development may interact with other personality or situational variables such as appraisal and coping style which impact life satisfaction. This may be especially evident in environments where African American women have to work harder to produce satisfactory interpersonal relationships such as in ambiguous situations where racism is suspected but not confirmed by overt acts.

An internalized identity serves to create stability and predictability. Events are filtered to fit the individual's current understanding of the world (Cross, 1995; Cross & Strauss, 1998). Cross and Strauss (1998) state that an internalized Black identity is revealed in everyday social interactions with others, regardless of race or ethnicity. The internalized identity provides three functions on a day to day basis: defends and protects the individual from race based psychological insults that are part of living in a racist society; provides a sense of belonging and social anchorage and provides a secure foundation from which to venture forth and participate in social interactions with people from a variety of different

ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Individuals with an internalized identity are also free to explore other aspects of their identity without fear of loss of their connection to their Blackness (Cross, 2001).

An internalized identity affects social interactions with Whites by allowing for buffering, code switching, or bridging. Buffering involves any act designed to protect an individual from an explicitly racist encounter. Code switching involves instances where Blacks adopt behaviors typical of mainstream culture in order to facilitate interaction with Whites in situations that are reasonably non-threatening. Code switching is viewed as a manifestation of bicultural competence. Lastly, bridging is an interaction typical of Whites and Blacks that share a profound love and trust that fosters cross cultural connection. In bridging differences can take center stage providing for an authentic and enlivened friendship. Maintenance of attachment to the Black community is accomplished through bonding or positive, proactive interactions with other Blacks. Individualism predominates when aspects of the self as a member of group are deemphasized. Black identity is stable with all beliefs and ideology available for use when triggered by an external stimulus or internal drive (Cross, 1995).

Cross and Vandiver (2001) introduced a new measure of racial identity named the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS; Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, Caldwell, Swim and Cokley, 2000) that was developed to incorporate an expanded model of Black identity development and to incorporate the aforementioned criticisms. The revised theory is based upon the notion of race salience for the individual. Individuals at earlier stages of racial identity development are described as having low race salience or high negative race salience. While individuals at later stages of racial identity development are described as having greater levels of race salience or identifying to a greater extent with their Blackness. There are four stages

rather than five that reflect the general theme of each stage rather than an identity per se. The Pre-Encounter stage has two identities, Assimilation and Anti Black. The conceptualization of the Encounter stage remains the same as in the original model but is not measured as it reflects a process rather than an identity. Immersion- Emersion is re- conceptualized with Immersion reflecting intense, romanticized involvement and anti-White sentiment that form two separate identities. Stages four and five are stages where a Black identity has been internalized but stage five also involves activism and a commitment to improving the lives of Blacks as a group.

Individuals with low race salience do not deny being physically Black but report that being Black is insignificant in their everyday experience. Persons in the Pre-Encounter stage may have low salience attitudes, may identify with other groups that have little to do with their Blackness, or emphasize personal fulfillment as a matter of free will and individual initiative. Others may report that they have reached a place of transcendence where race is unimportant (Pre-encounter Assimilation (PA). Some individuals with low salience attitudes will only acknowledge race as a problem to be overcome or as a stigma. Individuals who see Blackness as a stigma may only identify with Blackness in terms of trying to disprove the stigma. They have little genuine knowledge or appreciation of Black history or culture (Pre-encounter Mis-education (PM). (Cross & Vandiver, 2001, Cross et. al 2001).

In the revised model the individual with anti-Black attitudes and self-hatred is retained within the stage of Pre-Encounter even though race has a high degree of salience. However, the high degree of race salience is negative in quality encompassing attitudes whereby Blackness is devalued and racist stereotypes are held as true representations of the Black community. There may be concurrent idealization of the White community and culture along with denigration of the Black community and culture. These individuals are

characterized as Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred (PSH). (Cross & Vandiver, 2001, Cross et. al 2001).

In Cross's revised model the Immersion-Emersion stage continues to follow the Encounter stage. It is ushered in after a dramatic encounter or buildup of several smaller incidents result in the individual rethinking his relationship to his Blackness. The stage is the vortex of identity development where dramatic changes in dress, lifestyle, and speech occur. The identity is not yet internalized so these outward displays are necessary to bolster the still fledgling identity. Intense involvement with everything Black remains an essential aspect of Immersion. Cross originally described strong anti-White sentiment that often accompanies this stage of development when the individual becomes aware of the history of maltreatment of Blacks. Intense feelings of rage, anxiety and guilt may accompany these discoveries. In the revised model strong anti-White sentiment remains a part of Immersion however there is recognition that some individuals may become consumed by hatred of Whites to the point of fixation, in which case the anti-White sentiments coalesce to form a unique identity separate from the intense Black involvement that also characterizes Immersion. Cross postulated that there are two possible identities within the Immersion-Emersion: Intense Black Involvement (IBI) and Anti-White (AW). When the individual enters Emersion much of the intensity and emotionality Immersion wear off and the individual understands that there are more reasoned, flexible ways of understanding his or her Blackness then the individuals reaches the end of this transitory stage and moves into Internalization. (Cross & Vandiver, 2001, Cross et. al 2001).

The individual at Stage 4 of nigrescence has an internalized sense of Blackness where issues of race and culture are given a high degree of salience. He or she is calm, relaxed and confident in his or her own standards of the meaning of Blackness. There is pride in

Blackness, self-love and a deep sense of connection to the Black community. Cross's original model emphasized the bicultural, humanistic and cross cultural aspects of individuals with an internalized sense of Blackness. Black nationalism was not considered a hallmark of individuals with an internalized sense of Black identity, however, Cross revised his theory to account for the observation that for many Blacks the primary emphasis remains on the empowerment of Blacks to the exclusion of other groups. These individuals stress the importance of an Afrocentric perspective (IA). Other individuals have Internalized Bicultural identities where equal importance is given to Blackness and Americanness. This individual can and does openly engage issues important to Black culture and mainstream American culture. Finally, the Internalized Multiculturalist uses several reference groups. He or she is very grounded in his or her Blackness but is also sensitive to other oppressed groups (IM) (Cross and Vandiver, 2001; Cross et. al, 2001).

The final stage of nigrescence, Stage 5, is labeled Internalization-Commitment to describe those individuals that move beyond the realm of satisfaction of personal needs related to Blackness to form a commitment to the betterment of the Black community as a whole. There are little differences between individuals at Stage 4 and 5 other than a sustained interest and commitment to the Black community as whole among individuals in Stage 5 (Cross and Vandiver, 2001; Cross et. al, 2001).

Although Cross emphasizes the lack of correlation between level of Black identity development and mental health status he proposed that an internalized Black identity offers the following that are adaptive for Blacks: awareness that racism is a part of American society and subsequent development of an anticipatory set that enables the individual to be prepared for the occurrence of racism at any moment; flexible ego defenses that can be employed at anytime; system blame and sense of personal self-efficacy and a religious

orientation that help to prevent the development of hatred or bitterness toward Whites (Cross, 1995). The development of an internalized identity should lead to measurable differences in style of coping and the flexibility of coping responses employed.

Sellers, Rowley, Chavous, Shelton and Smith (1997) developed the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) in order to reconcile inconsistencies within the literature on Black racial identity. Echoing Cross's (1991) call for greater examination of the assumption that Black identity has a demonstrable effect on the well-being of Blacks, Seller's et. al. created the MMRI based upon identity theory grounded in the perspective of symbolic interactionism which asserts that individuals have a number of salient (personally relevant) identities that are hierarchically organized (Stryker & Serpe, 1994). The MMRI seeks to describe the beliefs that African Americans have about the significance of race by examining how they define themselves and the qualitative meaning that they ascribe to race (Seller et. al., p. 806).

The MMRI proposes four significant dimensions of African American identity (salience, centrality, ideology and regard). Salience is defined as the extent to which a person's race is a relevant part of his or her self-concept at a particular moment in time (Sellers et. al., p. 806). This contrasts with Cross's view of identity as stable across time and situation with all beliefs and ideology available for use at any time. Salience is thought to be the dynamic aspect of racial identity that is most likely to influence immediate behavior. Centrality is the dimension of racial identity that determines how a person most often identifies him or herself with regard to race. Salience and centrality are said to refer to the significance of race while ideology and regard determine the qualitative meaning of race.

Ideology defines the individual's philosophy about how African Americans should ideally behave and interact with other in society. There are four ideologies typical of African

Americans. African Americans with a *nationalist ideology* emphasize the uniqueness and importance of persons of African descent. Individuals with an *oppressed minority ideology* emphasize the commonalities that African Americans have with other groups while *humanists* focus on the commonalities that African Americans have with all humans. Finally those with an *assimilationist* philosophy emphasize commonalities between African Americans and the rest of American society. According to MMRI theory ideology becomes manifest in four different contexts where behavior occurs: political-economic; cultural-social; intergroup relations; and interactions with the dominant group. Sellers et. al. state that MMRI theory is unique because ideology is considered a distinct aspect of identity rather than as a variable that is synonymous with identity (Sellers et. al., 1997)

The fourth dimension of the MMRI includes regard or the individual person's affective and evaluative judgment of his or her race. Regard has both private and public aspects with private regard referencing the individual's positive or negative feelings regarding group membership and public regard referring to the extent to which individuals feel that others regard African Americans positively or negatively.

The Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) was created to assess three stable dimension of the MMRI (centrality, ideology, regard). Salience was not measured because of its situational nature. Sellers et. al. report that the MIBI has advantages over other measures of Black identity include the fact that several scores are included to address underlying dimensions of identity so that researchers can examine the ways that various aspect of identity interact and influence behavior and it includes measures of more global aspects of identity that have been previously measured in other studies of more universal aspects of identity.

Subjective Well-Being

It is often hypothesized that African Americans with more positive racial identity development will evidence better mental health but empirical studies have not borne out this hypothesized relationship between racial identity development and positive mental health (Cross, 1991; Pyant & Yanico, 1991; Helms, 1990; Parham & Helms, 1985a, Parham & Helms, 1985b). A part of the failure to detect a correlation between racial identity development and mental health status may result from a failure to concomitantly measure acculturation. In addition, there has been a failure in measuring mental health and/or well-being in a manner befitting the complexity of African American experience. Over reliance upon single report measures, cross-sectional data collection and a failure to conduct tests of causal hypotheses may in part explain the failure to find a relationship between Black identity development, culture and well-being. Other criticisms that characterize many studies of the relationship between race, ethnicity, perceived racism and subjective well-being include the frequent use of qualitative interviews, empirical studies based upon theories developed with little empirical support and poor control of within group variation so that valid generalizations to the African American population as a whole are limited.

The study of subjective well-being or happiness continues to progress toward a complex understanding of how individuals maintain happiness. There is also some movement, although limited to measuring the impact of culture on subjective well-being (Schimmack, Radhakrishnan, Oishi, Dzokoto, & Ahadi, 2002; Suh, 2002). Early studies of happiness such as Wilson's 1967 "Correlates of Avowed Happiness" (Wilson, 1967 cited in Diener, Suh, Lucas & Smith, 1999) focused on external factors, situations, events or demographic characteristics. This approach has declined in significance after researchers consistently found small effect sizes when assessing the impact of external variables on

subjective well-being. Campbell, Converse and Rodgers (1976) found that demographic factors such as age, sex, income, race, education and marital status accounted for less than 20% of the variance in well-being. Andrew and Withey (1976) using the same demographic variables as Campbell et. al. (1976) found they could account for no more than 8% of the variance in subjective well-being. Argyle (in press) suggested that external circumstances account for approximately 15% of the variance in subjective well-being. Researchers who study disparate variables such as ethnicity, culture, and low subjective well-being are increasingly calling for studies which are able to account for individual differences in the response to noxious or otherwise stressful events. Understanding the impact of acculturation on well-being must incorporate research designs that capture the dynamic aspects of adjustment to external circumstances. Individual African American women will react differently to stress due to racism because of their unique perceptions, expectations and values that are rooted in their past history. It is important to understand the processes underlying adaptation and the relationship between the person and the environment (Diener, 1999).

Subjective well-being is not a unitary construct but a broad category of phenomena that includes affective reactions and cognitive evaluations of global life satisfaction and domain specific life satisfaction. Affect is described by Diener et. al (1999) as moment to moment evaluations individuals make of events that occur in their lives. In the short-term there is some controversy involving the independence of both pleasant and unpleasant affect. There is less controversy regarding the separateness of long term-term affective measures. This definition of affect is cognitive in nature, assumes that individuals are aware of ongoing affective states and precludes the acknowledgment of any unconscious affective processes. Most research in the field of subjective well-being is concerned with long-term

affective states. According to Diener (1999) affect and cognition are significantly correlated with personality.

Personality may be defined as stable characteristics, traits and dispositions that describe an individual over time (Cloninger, 2000). Temperament is hypothesized to affect personality due to its significant influence on the tendency to experience positive or negative affect. Tellegen, A., Lyken, D. T., Bouchard, T. J., Wilcox, K. J., Sefa, N. L. and Rich, S. (1988) estimated that genes account for 40% of the variance in positive affect and 55% of the variance in negative emotionality. Tellegen et. al. estimated that shared family environment accounted for 22% of the variance in positive emotionality and 2% of the variance in negative emotionality. Lyken and Tellegen (1996) re-analyzed Tellegen et. al's original twin study and estimated 40 – 55% of the current variation in subjective well-being is inherited while 80% of long-term variability is heritable. Diener (1999) cautioned that the portion of subjective well-being that is 80% heritable refers to the stable portion of subjective well-being that is mostly determined by genes. Additionally, over long periods of time the impact of genes on heritable aspects of subjective well-being are likely to be more consequential. The aforementioned studies reflect what may be typical of people in modern, Western samples that have not been exposed to extreme environments (Diener, 1999). Lastly, heritability studies have found inconsistent heritability estimates that are smaller than those found in the study of Lyken and Tellegen (1996), (Baker, Cesa, Gatz, & Mellens, 1992; McGue & Christensen, 1997; Gatz, Pedersen, Plomin & Nesselroade (1992) and Silberg, J. L., Heath, A., Kessler, R. C. & Neal, M. C. (1990).

Other research findings that serve to attenuate the strength of studies forcefully supporting a genetic basis for the heritability of subjective well-being include the question of confounding variables in the form of non-shared intrauterine environments among

monozygotic twins that do not share the same placenta (Phelps, Davis, & Schartz, 1997). Genetic effects on subjective well-being may be indirect. Genetic factors influence behaviors that increase the likelihood that certain environments will be experienced (Plomin, Lichtenstein, Pedersen, McClearn & Nesselroade, 1990).

The controversy surrounding the relative impact of genes and environment on subjective well-being has led some researchers to study whether subjective well-being is stable over time. Magnus and Diener (1991) found that measures of personality predicted life satisfaction 4 years later even when controlling for intervening life events. Heady and Wearing (1989) observed that people eventually return to their baseline positive and negative affect after some aversive event. Kozma, Stone and Stones (1997) examined whether stability in subjective well-being was due to stability in environment, personality, or affective style. Kozma et. al. found that all of the aforementioned factors contributed to subjective well-being to some degree but the environmental component was the smallest. Diener and Larsen (1984) report that subjective well-being is also consistent across different situations as well.

Personality and Subjective Well-being

There have been some researchers who hypothesize that subjective well-being is a permanent personality trait (Costa, McCrae, & Zonderman, 1987). Veenhoven (1994) reported that happiness may change over time due to the influence of fortune and adversity. Kozma, et. al. (1997) found that happiness is not a stable trait but stable aspects of personality may influence subjective well-being. It is believed that personality predisposes one to certain affective reactions but current events also influence subjective well-being.

Stable aspects of personality that may influence subjective well-being include extraversion and introversion (Costa & McCrae, 1980). Extraversion is strongly correlated

with positive affect while negative affect was found to be indistinguishable from neuroticism. Fujita (1991) found a .71 positive correlation between extraversion and latent positive affect. Lucas, Diener, Grob, Suh and Shao (1988) found a similar strong positive correlation of .74 between extraversion and positive affect in an international sample. Watson and Clark (1997) hypothesized that positive affect is central to extraversion and negative affect is central to neuroticism. Their hypotheses were grounded in Gray's (1991) theory of personality that posits that there are two underlying brain systems that primarily determine individual differences in personality. The behavioral activating system (BAS) is sensitive to signs of reward and nonpunishment whereas the behavioral inhibition system (BIS) is sensitive to signals of punishment and nonreward. The BAS results in approach and conversely the BIS results in avoidance.

Extraverts are thought to be happier because they are more sensitive to reward and thus experience greater amounts of positive affect (Larsen & Ketelaar, 1991). Extraverts are happier than introverts across social situations (Diener, Sandvik, Pavot, Fujita, 1992; Argyle & Lu, 1990; Pavot, Diener & Fujita, 1990). Diener (1999) suggests that the personality characteristics of extraverts are actually the outcome of higher levels of positive affect.

Cognitive variables such as expectations, perception of control, the maintenance of positive illusions and goals also impact subjective well-being. Optimists expect favorable outcomes. Expectations of a favorable outcomes leads to greater persistence toward goals resulting in higher achievement (Schier and Carver, 1985). Grob, Stetsenko, Sabatier, Batcheva & Macek, , found that the expectation of control is correlated with subjective well-being. Lachman and Weaver (1988) found that the impact of low income on well-being was moderated by beliefs about control. Some positive illusions include unrealistically positive self-perceptions, overly optimistic views of the future, and overestimating

environmental control. These illusions appear to foster subjective well-being (Taylor and Brown, 1988 in Diener, 1999). Taylor and Armor (1996) found that the presence of positive illusions is positively correlated with successful adjustment to stressful situations including extremely adverse situations. Erez, Johnson, and Judge (1995) found that persons with a more positive disposition tended to use more self-deception and in turn report greater subjective well-being. Happier people tend to remember more positive events because they initially encode more events from their lives in a positive way (Seidlitz and Diener, 1993). Once events are stored in memory people who ruminate on negative events are likely to have lower rates of subjective well-being (Diener, 1999).

Self-esteem is also related to subjective well-being at least in Western samples (Lucas, R. E., Diener, E. & Suh, E., 1996). The correlation between self-esteem and subjective well-being is lower in collectivist cultures where satisfaction of the individual is less valued when contrasted with the well-being of the group (Diener and Diener, 1995). Kwan, Bond and Singelis (1997) found a strong relationship between self-esteem and life satisfaction in the United States but in Hong Kong relationship satisfaction was the strongest predictor of subjective well-being.

Researchers studying subjective well-being have begun to examine the interaction between personality and environment and its impact on subjective well-being. Statistically, an interaction is defined as the product of personality and environment that accounts for variance beyond the main effects. More complex models of interaction include the reciprocal interaction model where both personality and environment are treated as independent and dependent variables with bidirectional causality. Reciprocal interactionism was tested in a series of studies by Emmons and Diener (Diener, Larsen & Emmons, 1984; Emmons, Diener and Larsen, 1986; Emmons and Diener, 1986) where the researchers

examined whether individuals chose certain situations based on their personality and whether individuals experienced greater subjective well-being when there was congruence between personality and environment. Emmons et. al. and Emmons and Diener found that individuals experienced greater pleasant affect in personality congruent situations when the situation was chosen by the individual rather than imposed. Longitudinal studies examining the dynamic interaction between personality and environment found that extraversion and neuroticism predisposed participants to experience positive and negative life events (Headey and Wearing (1989) and Magnus, Diener, Fujita and Pavot (1993).

The effects of personality not only stem from dispositional factors but also behaviors that increase or decrease the probability of rewarding events. Personality has strong correlates with subjective well-being. Happy individuals are generally extraverted, optimistic and worry free. Conceptual models used to explain the link between personality and subjective well-being include mechanisms such as affective predisposition, rewarding behaviors, and characteristic ways of thinking. Identifying which personality traits are correlated with subjective well-being, the direction of causality and the mechanisms underlying the relationship between personality and subjective well-being are acknowledged and important future research endeavors (Diener et.al., 1999). The study of the impact of acculturation, racial identity development and gender on personality and situational variables that affect subjective well-being is receiving increasing attention.

Michaels (1985) discussed the multiple discrepancy theory of satisfaction. Individuals compare themselves to multiple standards that include other people, past conditions, aspirations and ideal levels of satisfaction need or goals. Identity will affect the judgment of satisfaction as it shapes what is considered ideal. The amount of discrepancy

between current conditions and the individual's standards result in greater or lesser satisfaction. If individuals make an upward comparison in which case the standard is higher than current conditions the individual is expected to feel less satisfied. Greater satisfaction will result when an individual makes a downward comparison where the standard is lower than the current status of the individual.

Social comparison theories were originally espoused by Festinger (1954). Social comparison is a process where individuals compare themselves to others in a situation to evaluate the extent to which their behaviors are considered acceptable. Acceptable behaviors are defined as such because they are followed by reinforcement such as smiles, praise, liking, money and offers of employment. Behaviors that are unacceptable are punished through ignoring, distancing or excluding. Landrine (1996) posits that African Americans become acculturated or bicultural by comparing themselves to the dominant group in a dominant local environment to appraise the extent to which their behavioral repertoire is acceptable in that particular dominant local environment. Behaviors and stimuli that are common among dominant group members become discriminative stimuli that signal impending reinforcement while behaviors that are present for the acculturating minority person become discriminative stimuli that signal punishment. New behaviors that are unique to the dominant cultural group are acquired through social comparison and modeling. Individuals become blended biculturals when new behaviors are added to the existing repertoire; assimilated–acculturated when the existing repertoire is replaced with new behaviors or alternating biculturals when the new behaviors added to existing behavioral repertoire and engaged in only when the acculturating individual is in the dominant local environment (Landrine and Klonoff, 1996).

Jones and Shorter-Gooden (2003) conducted a large survey where 1700 surveys were distributed and 333 were completed and returned. The women ranged in age from 18 to 88 and were from geographically diverse regions that include 24 states, large cities and suburbs. The participants had diverse economic and educational backgrounds. The questions on the survey were mostly open-ended and the authors conducted many in depth interviews with seventy-one of the women. Ninety-seven percent of the women acknowledged awareness of negative stereotypes regarding African Americans, and eighty-percent reported being personally affected by persistent racist and sexist assumptions. Black women must make constant adjustments to cope with the oppression they face on a regular basis. Black women are constantly “shifting” to accommodate differences in class, gender and ethnicity so as to increase the chances of acceptance. Such shifts may become so automatic that it becomes unconscious. Shifting may result in a fragmented self that is self-doubting and lacking in an inherent sense of personal worth or personal integrity. Shifting may increase the likelihood of physical disorders such as obesity, high blood pressure and diabetes. Shifting increases the risk for psychological disorders such as anxiety, low self-esteem, disordered eating, depression and self-hatred (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Cross and Vandiver (1995) report that when Blacks encounter situations where they judge Whites to be “reasonably friendly and somewhat trustworthy” Blacks will code-switch and act according to the cultural norms set by the dominant, White majority. Code-switching is designed to make Whites comfortable and diffuse tension. Code switching is a form of bicultural competence (Cross and Vandiver, p. 379).

Black women continue to report being affected by myths and stereotypes that denigrate Black women. Black women frequently receive the message that they are inferior to others, unshakable and impervious to hardship, masculine, unattractive, prone to criminal

behavior and sexually promiscuous (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003, Comas-Diaz & Greene, 1994, West, 1993). Much of the shifting that Black women engage in is done to combat these negative stereotypes (Jones and Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Several women interviewed by Jones and Shorter-Gooden described a process of social comparison whereby they consciously made decisions or shifts in conscious behavior based upon what they believed to be acceptable in a given environment. For example, when at work some participants described being painfully aware of their speech, clothing and comportment in an effort to avoid the punishment they had previously experienced when they lapsed into more natural behavior that was less typical of the dominant group. One woman described being chastised by a White colleague that caught her speaking with her friend before she had shifted to a style of speaking more accepted by the dominant group. She was asked to justify the discrepancy in her behavior.

Wilson (1967) believed that high aspirations compromised happiness. The discrepancy between one's aspirations and actual achievement impacts subjective well-being (Mark & Nurius, 1986; Michalos, 1985). Either inappropriately high or low aspirations affect subjective well-being with inappropriately high aspirations leading to anxiety (Emmons, 1992) while inappropriately low aspirations lead to boredom (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). It is not the absolute level of aspirations that is predictive of subjective well-being but the capacity for setting realistic goals that are congruent with one's personal resources that predict subjective well-being (Diener and Fujita, 1995). High aspirations and low current success do not compromise subjective well-being when individuals feel that they are making satisfactory progress toward their goals (Carver, Lawrence and Scheier, 1996; Csikszentmihalyi, 1990). The likelihood of achieving a goal may be less important than the content of a goal. Kasser and Ryan (1993, 1996) found that when participants estimates

about the likelihood of achieving aspirations was measured, the estimate of achieving intrinsic goals was positively correlated with subjective well-being while the likelihood of attaining extrinsic goals such as money were negatively correlated with subjective well-being.

Purpose and Rationale

An examination of the literature suggests that acculturation status and racial identity affect psychological functioning. Acculturation has been found to affect a variety of mental health statuses in several ethnic groups but acculturation in African Americans has been studied far less often. Traditionally the black community has been a vital source of social support and succor for African American women. Social support is a buffer against the negative impact of stress. The CRIS, Cross' revised black identity scale, espouses the view that black identity type is not predictive of mental health status even though an internalized identity confers significant psychological benefits. Race-related stress is deleterious to health; however, individuals that are less susceptible to the deleterious effects of stress will remain well. Coping efforts were also measured in this study to determine if African American women that have different acculturation statuses and/or black identities use more frequent or varied coping strategies. Effective coping strategies may allow women to maintain well-being even when they are exposed to race-related stress. Although, type of black identity affects well-being no difference in overall mental health status may be found because African American women cope with race-related stress differently but effectively. Acculturation status and an internalized identity may systematically affect social support, coping and therefore well-being. Acculturation status and quality of black identity type were measured to better understand how African American women maintain well-being in spite of exposure to increased stress due to racism and their devalued social status.

Conceptual Hypotheses

Hypothesis One - Women that maintain a high level of connectedness to African American culture (high AAAS score) and that possess identities where race is highly salient (Stage 4 or 5 of the CRIS) will report more experiences of racism than acculturated women as measured by the Index of Race-related stress (IRRS).

Hypothesis Two - Women that are highly connected to African American culture (high AAAS score) with an identity where race is highly salient (Stage 4 or 5 of the CRIS) will report greater life satisfaction on the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS).

Hypothesis Three - Higher levels of perceived social support as measured by the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support will be positively correlated with life satisfaction. African American women with a strong connection to African American culture (high AAAS score) and an internalized identity will report greater social support and life satisfaction than women with limited connection to African American culture and an identity where race has limited salience.

Hypothesis Four - Women that maintain a high level of connectedness to African American culture (high AAAS score) and that possess identities where race is highly salient (Stage 4 or 5 of the CRIS) will evidence more frequent coping efforts as measured by the WOCQ when compared with African American women with low levels of connectedness to African American culture (low AAAS score) and an identity where race is of low salience as measured on the CRIS (Stage 1).

Chapter III: Methods

Participants

One hundred and one adult, African American women were recruited to participate in the present study, 50 of whom completed the study over the internet and 51 of which completed the study using a paper and pencil format. Sociodemographic information for the sample is presented in Table 1. Most women in the sample were between the ages of 38 and 57 with a mean age of 46 (SD = 12.8) and a full range between 18 and 72. This was a mostly middle class sample of African American women with social class defined as a combination of income, education and occupation. The sample over represented women of a higher social class compared to the general US population and the population of black family households in particular (median US household income of \$50, 046; median Black family household income \$33, 255) (Census Bureau, 2002). Specifically, the median income for this sample was 50,000 (SD = \$54, 847) with a range from \$0 to \$400,000. The majority of women in this sample had completed at least a bachelor's degree (N=56). Forty-six women had graduate degrees including six women that possessed a doctoral degree. The minimum amount of educational attainment reported in this sample was a high school diploma (N=45). Seventy-nine percent of the eighty-three participants that responded to the question regarding employment, described themselves as employed. The majority of participants that were employed performing skilled labor and/or professional and managerial work. Most of the women who described themselves as unemployed were retired. Of the 97 participants that responded to the question regarding marital status, 41 participants reported that they were single and had never married, 39 reported that they were married, 14 reported that they were divorced and 3 reported that they were separated. Participants were provided with

three categories in terms of perceived skin color with the following frequencies of skin color reported: light (N=14), medium (N=55), and dark (N=26).

Participants currently reside in a variety of regions across the United States, with the exception of the Northwest, Hawaii and Alaska. Twenty-nine percent of participants were from the Northeast, 25.7% from the Southeast, 23.8% from the Midwest and 17.8% from the Southwest. Ninety-seven percent of participants (98 participants) indicated that their mothers were born in the following regions: 72.3% from the Southeast; 10.9% from the Midwest; 7.9% from the Northeast and 4% from the Southwest. Fathers were from the following regions: 71.3% from the Southeast, 11.9 % from the Northeast, 3.1% from the Midwest and 2.1% from the Southwest. Seventy-eight percent of participants were able to identify the provenance of their maternal grandmothers with 92.4% stating that their maternal grandmothers came from the Southeast. Sixty-five participants were able to state the birthplace of their paternal grandmothers with eighty-six percent stating that their paternal grandmothers came from the Southeast. Seventy-four participants were able to state the provenance of their maternal grandfather and 57% were able to state the provenance of their paternal grandfathers with 95.9% and 86.5% coming from the Southeast respectively.

Procedures

The principal investigator (PI) recruited adult African American women by asking them directly if they would like to participate in a study to learn more about African American women and well-being. Professional colleagues also recruited African American women that they believed would be interested in participating in the study. The PI provided each woman with a packet of questionnaires in the order listed above and asked participants

to complete each questionnaire to the best of their ability. Participants were respectfully encouraged to complete all of the questions and reassured of their individual anonymity and confidentiality. The PI was present to answer any questions that arose as the questionnaires are being completed. Questions regarding instructions and directions were answered directly. Any substantive questions were responded to in a neutral manner that encourages the participant to answer in the way they consider most accurate. Each packet was identified by only a number already affixed to each questionnaire in each packet. The principal investigator collected all data and reviewed the questionnaires for completeness. If there were incomplete questionnaires the PI encouraged the participant to answer missing items. The questionnaires were administered in individual and group settings depending on the number of women available at a given location and time. The PI encouraged women answering questionnaires in a group setting not to share information or discuss their reactions or responses to the study until after each person has completed their packet. The PI was available to conduct a debriefing after the individual or group had completed the questionnaires. The PI also offered participants access to the results of the study on the Internet or in letter form if requested.

Participants using the Internet to complete questionnaires online completed the same questionnaires as participants are completing questionnaires manually the online survey site surveymonkey.com <http://surveymonkey.com>. Individuals were recruited through word of mouth and women that completed the questionnaires were asked to post the advertisement to electronic mail listserves that cater to African American women or to share the advertisement by posting notifications of the study opportunity to websites that provide services and support for African American women. In the posted notification, participants

were encouraged to create a unique password to complete the questionnaires, and then upon completion, forward them to the PI.

Internet data were examined for repeat Internet Protocol (IP) addresses which will be recorded with the completion of each protocol of questionnaires. Data from the same IP address was excluded (Gosling, Vazire, Srivastava, & John, 2004). Utilizing the methods used by Gosling et. al. (2004) in order to avoid eliminating responses from different individuals using the same computer, consecutive responses from the same IP address were matched on key demographic characteristics (e. g. age, ethnicity, region) and when such a match was detected, only the first response was utilized in the data analysis. In addition, the entire set of item responses for consecutive entries was compared to identify duplicate or near duplicate entries.

The institutional review board of the City College of New York, (IRB # D-09-0024C-CCNY&Oth) approved the study and informed consent was obtained from each participant.

Description of Materials and Instruments

The following instruments will be used to obtain data:

1. Information Sheet (Demographic Variables)
2. African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS)
3. Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS)
4. Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS)
5. Ways of Coping Questionnaire (WOCQ)
6. Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS)
7. Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS)

The African American Acculturation Scale

The African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS) is a scale used to measure acculturation in African Americans. The AAAS is comprised of eight dimensions derived from empirical evidence regarding African American culture. The eight dimensions follow with the original number of items for each dimension

1. Traditional African American religious beliefs and practices (12 items)
2. Traditional African American family structure and practices (19 items)
3. Traditional African American Socialization (17 items)
4. Preparation and Consumption of Traditional Foods (17 items)
5. Preference for African American Things (24 items)
6. Interracial Attitudes (33 items)
7. Superstitions (31 items)
8. Traditional African American Health Beliefs and Practices (36 practices)

The original AAAS contained 189 items assessing the aforementioned eight subscales. The items were rated on a Likert type scale from 1 (I totally disagree, this is absolutely not true of me) to 7 (I totally agree, this absolutely true of me). The questionnaire was completed by 183 adults (51 men, 132 women). Individuals with a higher total score have a more traditional cultural orientation. The sample was composed of 118 African Americans, 37 European Americans, 13 Latinos, 10 Asian Americans and 5 people of mixed African heritage. The participants range in age from 15 to 72 years with the average age being 32.81 years. Twenty-nine percent were married, 47% were single (divorced, widowed, never married or separated). The participants were from various geographical regions with only 20 from the Deep South (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).

The AAAS was distributed in community organizations and drop in centers in south central Los Angeles, San Bernardino County California and Westchester County, New York. The AAAS was also distributed at the American Psychological Association Minority

Fellowship Program. The sample was comprised of individuals with diverse backgrounds and socioeconomic statuses (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).

A MANOVA was run to assess the degree to which African Americans scored differently than non-African Americans. Items for which African Americans differed from non-African Americans at the .05 level were retained. Fifty-seven items were dropped because they did not differentiate between African Americans and non-African Americans. Items were also excluded if more than 50% of African Americans did not agree (rating of 4 or higher). The original subscale was reduced to 74 items with the following changes in the eight subscales: Religion (12 to 6 items); Family (19 to 12 items); Socialization (17 to 11 items); Foods (17 to 10 items); Preferences (24 to 11 items); Attitudes (33 to 7 items); Superstitions (31 to 5); Health (36 to 12).

The internal consistency reliability for the subscales were highly reliable with Alphas ranging from .71 to .90, stabilizing that the items in each subscale measure the same underlying construct in a consistent manner. Split-half reliability was also obtained by calculating the correlation between the average score on the 37 even numbered items ($M=4.06$, $SD=1.09$) and the average score on the 37 odd numbered items ($M=4.11$, $SD=1.17$). The resulting split-half reliability was $r=.93$ ($p=.0001$). In addition, moderate to strong correlations were found between each subscale and its relationship to the total AAAS score (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).

Concurrent validity was also established by assessing the relationship between geographical residence and AAAS score. African Americans who agreed with the statement "I live in a predominantly Black neighborhood" (question from the Socialization subscale) should be more traditional as a group than subjects who completely disagreed. Traditional subjects (those living in predominantly Black neighborhoods) score higher than acculturated

subjects (those living in integrated communities) on four of eight subscales (Family, Preferences, Foods, and Attitudes). The mean total AAAS for subjects who lived in Black neighborhoods was significantly higher (more traditional) than those living in residential areas (difference 50.22; $t(49) = -3.10, p. 003$) (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).

The AAAS was designed to measure acculturation not status variables and thus should not be related to education or social class. A series of MANOVAS were run to assess the extent to which the eight subscales were related to city of origin, education, income, gender and income of origin. None of the MANOVAS was significant except the MANOVA for social class of origin. However, none of the eight follow up ANOVAS were significant (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).

African Americans provided a wide range of scores on the AAAS. These differences cannot be attributed to social class, gender or education and thus they may reflect different levels of acculturation. There was also no evidence of subjects providing socially desirable responses because many subjects disagreed with some items (Landrine & Klonoff, 1994).

Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS)

The Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS) is a measure of stress associated with daily racism encountered by African Americans. The IRRS also measures stress associated with racism experienced by significant others in the individual's social network. The IRRS measures race-related stress operationalized as the occurrence and perceived magnitude of interactions with the environment that tax or exceed one's resources (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996, p. 3).

The development of the initial items on the IRRS was based upon interviews with African American men and women of diverse backgrounds, a literature review, and the insights of the lead investigator who is an African American male. Redundant items were

eliminated. Seventy-four items on a five point Likert-type scale were generated. Individuals that reported exposure to racist events were asked to rate their reaction to the event from the following choices: 1=no reaction; 2= irritation; 3 = anger; 4 = hostility; 5 = rage. Individuals were asked to rate only the events they had experienced while leaving the other's blank (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

A focus group made up of five African Americans met to assess the content of IRRS, the ease and efficiency of administration and any potential harmful effects of the IRRS. Results of the first focus group resulted in changing the Likert scale as members of the focus group reported that the original Likert-type scale was ambiguous due to difficulty differentiating between the response choices of anger, hostility and rage. As a result of the aforementioned concerns the response choices were changed to the following: 1 = unaffected; 2 = slightly bothered by the event; 3 = event was upsetting; 4 = extremely upset by the event. Some events were changed to make them clearer. The focus group members also pointed out that several significant events that met the inclusion criteria were omitted (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

In addition, a group of five scholars, each with expertise and publications in the research domains of race and ethnicity, gender and cultural issues ask to rate each question. Each scholar acted as a judge rating each item on the IRRS for clarity and domain clarity. Judges rated each item on a 4-point Likert-type scale with 1 = confusing and 4 = very clear. Domain appropriateness was rated as yes or no. Items receiving a mean of less than 3.0 were rewritten or eliminated as were items rated as domain inappropriate. The results of the aforementioned procedures led to an IRRS with 67 items with a possible range of scores from 1 to 268 (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

A pilot study was conducted with 203 females and 163 males participants ranging in age from 17 to 57 with a mean age of 22.65 years ($SD = 6.85$). Eleven participants failed to state their gender. The pilot study was designed to assess the logistics of administering the IRRS and to further assess the content validity of the IRRS. Utsey and Ponterotto (1996) also wished to determine the factorial structure of the IRRS that would allow for an informal comparison with other models of race-related stress could be conducted.

As a result of the pilot study a new Likert-type scale was created so that no items required participants to leave an item blank. A principle-components analysis was performed on all 67 items of the IRRS using only those questionnaires that were fully completed. Seventeen factors with eigenvalues greater than one were found. A scree test found that as many as four factors were interpretable. The researchers forced a one-, two-, three, and four component extraction using both orthogonal and oblique solutions with the three-component orthogonal solution being most interpretable. Component 1 had an eigenvalue of 13.6 with 25 items accounting for 20% of the common variance. Component 2 had an eigenvalue of 3.4 with 20 items that accounted for 5.1% of the common variance. Component 3 had an eigenvalue of 3.0 with 15 items that accounted for 4.6% of the variance. Items with component loadings of .35 or higher were retained while items that met the .35 criteria on more than one component were eliminated. After the principle-components analysis a total of eight items were eliminated on the basis of selection criteria and one additional item was dropped based upon the researcher's judgment. The resulting IRRS had 59 items (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Study 1

Study 1 was conducted to determine the principle-component structure of the revised IRRS, the internal consistency of the IRRS and the relationship between the IRRS subscales. The sample of 302 participants, 167 females and 115 males were from various geographic regions, educational levels and socioeconomic classes. Participants ranged in age from 18 to 61 with a mean age of 26.77, SD = 9.02.

The principle-component structure analysis was performed on all items of the IRRS and yielded 15 components of eigenvalues greater than 1.0. A scree test indicated that as many as four components were interpretable. The four-component orthogonal solution was the solution with the most conceptual support and with loadings that were most logical. The criteria for retention of items were as follows: a minimum component loading of .40 and items meeting the .40 criteria had to also have been at least .15 greater than all other items loading on the same component (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Component 1 had an eigenvalue of 13.36 with 23% of the common variance with 16 items loading on this component that represent racism on a cultural level. Component 2 had an eigenvalue of 4.58 with 8% of the common variance with 11 items meeting the selection criteria. Items of Component 2 represent experience with institutional racism. Component 3 had an eigenvalue of 2.45 accounting for 4% of the common variance with 11 items meeting the selection criteria from the component pertaining to racism on an individual level. Component 4 related to collective racism had an eigenvalue of 2.06 accounting for 3% of the common variance with 8 items meeting the criteria for selection (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

The coefficient alphas for the new IRRS subscales were .87 for Component 1, Cultural Racism, .85 for Component 2, Institutional Racism; .84 for Component 3, Individual Racism; and .79 for Component 4, Collective Racism (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Pearson-product moment r correlation coefficients were computed to determine the subscale intercorrelations. The intercorrelations between subscales were low to moderate. The IRRS subscales are distinct yet related measures of stress experienced by African Americans that encounter racism (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Study 2

A second study was conducted to further examine the construct validity of the IRRS. The group difference method was also used to establish construct validity by comparing IRRS subscale scores for Blacks with the scores of a subsample of non-Blacks. Concurrent validity was also studied by simultaneously administering a second measure of the perceived stressful magnitude of racism and discrimination (RaLES-B) and another measure of perceived stress (Perceived Stress Scale) (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

The sample was comprised of 341 participants that included a subsample of 31 non-Blacks whose data were used for the group comparison procedure only. Participants were chosen from colleges and universities and the community at large. African American participants were of diverse socioeconomic backgrounds, geographic regions and educational levels.

Participants completed the IRRS, the Ra LES-B and the PSS. The RaLES B is a self report questionnaire that measures perceived perception of the impact of racism on minority group members lives. The Perceived Stress Scale is a 14-item, Likert-type scale designed to measure the degree to which one views his or her life situation as stressful. Stressfulness is assessed according to the degree an individual finds his life unpredictable, uncontrollable,

and overwhelming. All participants were administered the IRRS. The non-Black subsample was instructed to replace “Black” with their racial group identity. The participants were also given the two previously described instruments, the PSS and RaLES-B in subsamples of 51 and 57 participants. The first subsample of 51 participants received the IRRS and the PSS randomly distributed over the entire sample. The second subsample of 57 participants were given the IRRS and the RaLes-B, randomly distributed over the entire sample. The Ra LES-B and the IRRS were distributed in an alternating sequence to control for instrumentation effects. For participants completing the PSS and IRRS the PSS always preceded the IRRS to avoid having participant responses to the PSS affected by responses to the IRRS (Utsey & Ponterroto, 1996).

A confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was conducted on the 46 items of the IRRS using the LISREL 7 computer program. Comparisons were made between a four-component orthogonal model, a four component oblique model, a global component model and a null model. A significant chi-square statistic for all four models was found indicating an unsatisfactory fit. The chi-square statistic tends to result in significant results when the sample size is large, there are numerous variables and high degrees of freedom. The four component oblique model had the best fit because it had the lowest χ^2 value, the highest goodness of fit index, the lowest χ^2/df value, the lowest root mean square residual, and the highest relative noncentrality index. Utsey and Ponterotto (1996) found that the general fit of the proposed model was unsatisfactory.

Bagozzi and Heatherton (1994) in (Utsey and Ponterotto, 1996) state that it is common for measurement models to have an unsatisfactory fit when more than four or five items represent each component and the sample size is large. In order to overcome difficulties related to sample size and the complexity of the model. Utsey and Ponterotto

summed the scores of each component to create aggregate variables. After the items were aggregated to form newer and fewer indicators of the same construct they were re-entered into the LISREL 7 program and a second confirmatory factor analysis was conducted. Results of the second confirmatory factor analysis found that the fit indexes improved considerably for the four component aggregate models with 16 variables. After the second confirmatory factor analysis the model with the best fit was determined to be the four factor oblique model (Utsey and Ponterotto, 1996).

Consistent with Study 1, the IRRS subscales were found to have adequate internal consistency and subscale correlations were low to moderate. The IRRS measures distinct yet related measures of race-related stress (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

In order to establish concurrent validity Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient were computed between the four subscales, the RaLES-B Self and Group subscales and the PSS. A positive and significant correlation was found to exist between Cultural Racism, Institutional Racism, Individual Racism and the Group subscale of the RaLES B. A positive and significant correlation was found between the Self subscale of the RaLES-B and with the Institutional Racism, Individual Racism and Collective Racism subscale of the IRRS. The IRRS Global Racism measure was positively and significantly correlated with Ra LES-B Global Racism measure (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Group differences between Blacks and non-Blacks were found to be significant with Black reporting higher scores on the IRRS subscales when compared Whites and Asians. There was no significant difference between the scores of Whites and Asians on the IRRS subscale (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

A third study was conducted to examine the stability of the IRRS over time. Two separate samples were recruited for test – re-test administration at two different time

intervals. The first sample of 31 students was recruited from an introductory psychology course at a historically Black college in North Carolina. The participants in the second sample were administered the IRRS on one day and retested in two weeks. The first sample test-retest reliability coefficients follow: Cultural Racism, .77; Institutional Racism, .69; Individual Racism, .61, and Collective Racism, .79. The second sample test-retest coefficients follow: Cultural Racism, .58, Institutional Racism, .71, Individual Racism, .54, and Collective Racism, .75 (Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996).

Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS)

The CRIS is a forty-item, multiple-choice-questionnaire with items designed on 7-point, Likert-type rating scale where 1 is equivalent to *strongly disagree* and 7 is equivalent to *strongly agree*. The CRIS is designed to measure the individual's reference group orientation and the salience and valence of race in the life of an individual. Blacks may view race as having low salience with a neutral valence, high salience with a positive valence or of high salience and a negative valence (Cross & Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver et. al, 2002). In Cross's revised model Black identity cannot be linked to self-esteem or other mental health statuses as had been previously postulated in the original 1971 model. The Black Racial Identity and Attitude Scale, RIAS-B (Helms, 1990) was the original scale designed to measure racial identity and attitudes about Black racial identity rooted in Cross's (1971) nigrescence model. The RIAS-B measures four stages of the Cross model of nigrescence: Preencounter, Encounter, Immersion/Emersion, and Internalization. The original Cross model of emerging Black identity development assumes that racial identity develops in a stage like manner, is bidimensional such that a person incorporates attitudes about Blacks as well as Whites into his or her identity and that racial identity is relatively stable though not necessarily permanent. Internalization of a Black identity was hypothesized to be associated

with better mental health (Helms, 1990). Cross (1991) conducted a seminal review of forty-fives studies on the relationship between racial identity and personality and concluded that the assumption that racial identity development was correlated with mental health status could not be supported unless the individual was a Black with feelings self-hatred in which case there was a significant correlation with poor mental health status when compared to other Blacks that were not self-hating.

Brief Summary of Reliability and Validity Studies Related to the Development of the CRIS

In response to these findings Cross revised his model of nigrescence. The CRIS is a measure of Black identity that is grounded in Cross's (2001) revised and expanded model of nigrescence. The CRIS was developed in six phases over a five year period. Phase 1 involved developing items for inclusion in the scale and conducting studies of content validation. Minimum reliabilities of .70 for each subscale and establishing construct validity through exploratory factor analysis were the goals for Phases 2 through 4. During Phases 5 and 6 minimum subscale reliability was set at .80 and exploratory and confirmatory factor analyses were replicated to ensure construct validity found in Phases 2 through 4. There was also an attempt to make sure that each subscale was orthogonal to the others (Cross & Vandiver, 1995).

Data for the CRIS were collected over a four year period and included five different samples of African American students attending two predominantly White colleges with 3% and 8% African Americans respectively. Sample sizes ranged from 119 to 336, participants ranged in age from 17 to 59 with 21 as the mean age across samples. The samples contained about two times as many women as men with most participants working toward an undergraduate degree (Cross & Vandiver, 1995).

Reliability estimates, for the subscales of the CRIS obtained through Phases 2 through 6 of the study ranged from .59 to .90 and improved through Phase 6. At the conclusion of Phase 6 all of the reliability estimates were above .80 with the exception of the PM subscale which was .80. Subscale intercorrelations ranged from -.51 to .63 with a majority of the values dropping below .30 as the items were revised from Phases 2 through 6. Intercorrelations between the subscales IEAW, IEIBI, and IA continued to be moderate ($r > .30$). At the end of Phase 6 the subscale intercorrelations between IEAW and IA were .41 and between IA and IMCI were .37.

Phase 1

The original items written for the CRIS included items written to characterize seven Nigrescence identities reflecting attitudes about Blackness for Stages 1, 3, 4 and 5. Encounter was not measured because of its transitory nature. Stage 1, the Pre-Encounter stage included items written to measure two subscales but three distinct subscales emerged out of the content validation work: Assimilationist (PA), Miseducation (PM) and Self-hatred (PSH). Individuals with an assimilationist identity evidence low salience for race and a strong reference group orientation toward being an American (Cross & Vandiver, 1995 and Vandiver, et. al. 2001). The Pre-encounter, Miseducation (PM) subscale captures individuals that have a low salience for race and internalized negative beliefs and stereotypes of Blacks as a group but they may not evidence self-hatred. Finally Blacks that have a high salience for Blackness with a negative valence toward membership in the Black community are considered self-hating. Stage 3, Immersion-Emersion contained items written to capture two subscales; Intense Black Involvement (IEIBI) and Anti-White (IEAW). Stage 4 and Stage 5 are combined into one stage because there is significant overlap with the major

difference being whether one has made a commitment to improving the lot of the Black community as a whole (Cross & Vandiver, 1995).

After numerous discussions regarding revised nigrescence theory a pool of 250 items was generated. Continued discussion resulted in the selection of 126 items for a content validity study. A group of 75 experts in multicultural psychology familiar with revised nigrescence theory were asked to rate those items that they believed best represented the constructs elaborated in nigrescence theory. Forty-five of the seventy-five expert judges agreed to participate. Twenty of those forty-five that agreed to participate returned their item analysis of the CRIS. Each item analysis consisted of a ten-point Likert type scale where judges were asked to rate which item appeared to measure six racial identities (initially Pre-Encounter had two subscales). An item rated 1 indicated a poor exemplar of the construct to be measured while a rating of 10 represented an excellent measure of the proposed construct. Judges were allowed to indicate that one item was an exemplar of more than one identity (Cross & Vandiver, 1995).

Items rated by judges were selected for inclusion in the initial construction of the CRIS if they met three criteria: 1) the item had to receive at least a 6 point rating; 2) 75% of the judges had to agree and 3) fewer than 25% of the judges rated the item as indicative of multiple constructs. Items rated 5 by the majority of judges were considered if qualitative comments were provided to reword or revise the item. Fifty-seven (57) items were selected for the initial CRIS. Future modifications of the CRIS were based on empirical findings as they related to theoretical constructs contained within the revised model of nigrescence (Cross & Vandiver, 1995).

Phase 2

The initial scale development of the CRIS was conducted with three independent samples of African American students. The information gathered from each phase of scale development was then used to modify nigrescence theory and the CRIS. The goals for Phase 2 through 4 were to establish a stable measure with minimum reliability estimates of .70 for subscale scores and subscale intercorrelations of no more than .30. An additional goal of Phase 3 was to establish initial construct validity through exploratory factor analysis (EFA).

In Phase 2 of initial scale development for the CRIS a sample of 119 students were recruited by the research team using flyers, announcements in the campus newspaper, individual contacts to recruit participants for participation in a social attitude survey. Seventy-eight women and thirty-one men with ages that ranged from 17 – 47 participated in this phase of the study. The mean age was 21.26 with a standard deviation of 4.56. Ninety-one participants categorized themselves as African-American or Black, 18 as other Black and 10 participants were of unknown racial designation.

Participants were given the CRIS containing 57 items: Pre-encounter Assimilation (9); Pre-encounter Anti-Black (9); Immersion-Emersion – Intense Black Involvement (11); Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (9); Internalized Black Nationalism (9); Internalized Multiculturalist (10). Items were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale with 1 indicating strong disagreement and 7 indicating strong agreement. A mean was derived for each subscale. In addition, participants were given the Rosenberg Self Esteem Scale (RSES) which consists of 10 items and measures of global self-esteem on a 4-point Likert type rating scale. Higher scores reflect higher levels of self-esteem. All measures were randomly ordered in the

packets to control for order effects. Participants were usually able to complete the packets in 20 minutes (Vandiver, et. al. 2001).

Reliability estimates and intercorrelations for the CRIS subscale scores ranged from .59 to .83 (Mdn .71). Subscale intercorrelations ranged from -.50 to .64 (Mdn = .04). Three reliability subscale scores were at or above .70 (Pre-Encounter Anti-Black, .73; Immersion-Emersion Intense Black Involvement .75; Immersion-Emersion Anti-White .83). Eight subscale scores were below the maximum criterion value of $|.30|$ while 7 subscale intercorrelations were above the maximum value. The Anti-Black subscale was only correlated with the Assimilation subscale sharing approximately 22% of the variance; individuals that rated themselves high on assimilation were more likely to espouse Anti-Black attitudes ($r=.47, p<.001$). The Assimilation subscale was significantly correlated with all CRIS subscales except the Multiculturalist subscale. Although three intercorrelations exceeded the maximum $|.30|$ criterion value the relationships were in the theoretically expected direction. The Assimilation subscale was negatively and significantly correlated with both Immersion-Emersion subscales (Intense Black Involvement $-.34, p<.001$ and Anti-White, $-.31, p<.001$) and the Internalization Black Nationalist subscale ($-.50, p<.001$). Assimilationists were likely to rate themselves lower on pro-Black and Anti-White subscales. The two Immersion-Emersion subscales and the Internalization Black Nationalist subscale were positively correlated with each other (IEAW/IBN $r=.43, p<.001$; IEIBI/IBN $r=.63, p<.001$) sharing approximately 19% to 40% of the variance. Those for whom Blackness was most salient also had pro-Black and Anti-White views. An inverse relationship was found between RSES and anti-Black scores on the CRIS at the .05 probability level (Vandiver, et. al, 2001).

The goals for Phase 2 were partially supported. Reliability estimates for three subscales were at or above .70. The multiculturalist subscale correlated below $|.30|$ with other CRIS subscales. The anti-Black subscale was also correlated with RSES. However, the intercorrelations among four of the subscales (Assimilation, Intense Black Involvement, Anti-White and Black Nationalist) indicated excessive overlap and the need for further demarcation of the CRIS constructs (Vandiver et. al. 2002).

Phase 3

During Phase 3 the research team sought to clearly demarcate subscales to identify those items making a robust contribution to designated subscales but not correlated more than $|.30|$ with items from different subscales and to further analyze Pre-Encounter items and self-esteem (Vandiver et. al., 2001).

In order to obtain the aforementioned goals Pre-Encounter Assimilation items were changed to emphasize a pro-American rather pro-White attitude to minimize the correlation between Assimilation and Anti-White subscales. Three Anti-Black subscale items had correlations above $|.30|$ with global self-esteem. Revision of the Pre-Encounter Anti-Black subscale involved clarifying the miseducation and self-hatred items so that miseducation involved feelings regarding reference group orientation or how Blacks functioned in general while self-hatred items emphasized personal identity and the pain individuals felt with regard to being Black. Both strands of Anti-Black sentiment were retained within one subscale. Intense Black Involvement was revised to be more extreme by using adjectives “absolutely”, “totally”, “constantly” and more inclusive of rejecting attitudes toward Blacks that are seen as not Afrocentric or pro-Black enough. Anti-White items were modified to focus on hatred of Whites without using the work European American. Anti-White sentiments were further distinguished from a Black Nationalist worldview by concomitantly emphasizing Black

empowerment and lack of hatred toward Whites. Multiculturalist items were also revised to increase their concordance with Cross's (1991) definition of a multiculturalist. Items were changed to include more statements regarding Whites and other broad cultural referents such as gays/lesbians and Native Americans (Vandiver et. al, 2001).

One hundred and forty-two participants (92 women and 50 men) were recruited from the same mid-Atlantic predominantly White college using the same recruitment strategies as previously described. Participants completed the second version of the CRIS that contained 76 items with six subscales: Pre-Encounter Assimilation (14 items), Pre-Encounter Anti-Black (9 Miseducation items; 9 Self-Hatred items); Immersion-Emersion Intense Black Involvement (17 items); Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (11 items); Internalization Black Nationalist (12 items); and Internalization Multiculturalist (13 items). Items were rated and scored in the same manner as described in Phase 2.

Data analysis for Phase 3 established reliability estimates from .69 to .87 (Mdn=.75) and subscale intercorrelations ranging from -.29 to .55 (Mdn=.22) with only five intercorrelations at or above $|\ .30 |$. The Assimilationist subscale did not correlate with any other subscale of the CRIS. The Anti-Black and Multiculturalist subscales each had one correlation at or above $|\ .30 |$ (Immersion-Emersion Anti-White and Pre-Encounter Assimilationist $r = -.29, p < .01$). Internalized Multiculturalist and Intense Black Nationalist subscales shared 47% to 30% of their variance. Participants rating themselves as intensely involved with Blacks were likely to rate themselves as high on Anti-White feeling and Black Nationalism as well (Vandiver, et.al. 2001).

Substantial increase in the correlation between Anti-Black and Intense Black Involvement and the poor outcome of the Anti-Black items after further reliability analyses resulted in continued analysis of the Anti-Black subscale. Inter-item correlations and

reliability statistics led to the conclusion that the self-hatred items resulted in reliability estimates of .62 whereas reliability estimates for miseducation items were .73. Items with low item-total correlations resulted in improved reliability estimates for both self-hatred (.71) and miseducation (.76). Further correlational tests were run to determine if the miseducation and self-hatred represented unique constructions. Separate subscales were developed and correlated with other subscales. Correlations among the three Pre-Encounter subscales ranged from .07 to .33. None of the three subscales had correlations with any other CRIS subscale above $|\ .30 |$. These findings resulted in a change in the CRIS Anti-Black subscale due to the fact that Miseducation and Self Hatred seemed to be two distinct constructs. The Pre-encounter Anti-Black subscale was then discontinued and reconceptualized as two distinct subscales, Pre-Encounter Miseducation and Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred (Vandiver et. al. 2001).

At the end of Phase 3 there was substantial movement toward the goals for reliability and low levels of intercorrelations between scales. All reliability estimates were above .70 except Assimilation. All but four subscale intercorrelations were below $|\ .30 |$, however, the intercorrelations between Intense Black Involvement, Anti-White, and Black Nationalist subscales remained higher than what was considered acceptable (Vandiver et. al. 2001).

Phase 4

Phase 4 of the CRIS scale development focused on further refinement of each CRIS subscale by trying to strengthen the ability of each subscale to capture a unique identity status. Assimilation was modified to reflect a preference for mainstream American culture. Miseducation items were revised to more narrowly reflect views that are more commonly attributed to Blacks such as being lazy or criminal. Self-hatred items were changed to increase personal dislike of being Black. All more nuanced references to Anti-

White sentiment were removed due to their tendency to be more highly correlated with other CRIS subscales. Anti-White items were changed to reflect more vehemently Anti-White sentiment. The items on the Intense Black Involvement subscale continued to reflect pro-Black feelings with a strong emotional bent whereas the Black Nationalist Identity emphasizes a more rational ideology, phrases strongly denouncing Anti-White sentiment were moderated to make the Black Nationalist subscale more distinct from the Intense Black Involvement. Attempts were also made to continue to improve the reliability of the multiculturalist subscale. Some items were viewed as too universal. Students also often marked out “Whites” or “gay/lesbians” or commented that they would have endorsed multicultural items of Whites.

Feedback about the multiculturalist questions led to testable questions prompting the development of an additional identity cluster to capture individuals that are multiculturalist with an emphasis on minority ethnic groups. The new scale was labeled Internalized Multiculturalist Racial and was contrasted with the previous Internalized Multiculturalist scale presently labeled Internalized Multicultural Inclusive to reflect individuals that emphasize acceptance of all groups including Whites, gays, and lesbians (Vandiver, 2001).

The third version of the CRIS contained 64 items, distributed across eight subscales: Pre-Encounter Assimilation (10 items); Pre-Encounter Miseducation (6 items); Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred (10 items); Immersion-Emersion Intense Black Involvement (9 items); Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (9 items); Internalization Black Nationalist (10 items); Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive (10 items); Internalization Multiculturalist Racial (10 items). All items were rated and scored as in the original CRIS (Vandiver et. al. 2001).

In Phase 4 subscale intercorrelations and reliability analyses of the CRIS continued. Reliability estimates of the subscale scores ranged from -.51 and .80 (Mdn=.06). Seven of the 29 subscale intercorrelations were above $|\ .30 |$. None of the Pre-Encounter subscales were substantially correlated with the others but the Assimilation and Miseducation subscales continued to be substantially correlated with other CRIS subscales (PM/PA, $r=.48$, $p<.001$) sharing 23% of the variance. Moderate correlations among Immersion-Emersion and the Black Nationalist subscale exist (.32 to .50). The two multicultural subscales were strongly related ($r=.80$). Multiculturalist Inclusive was retained due to significant overlap and the opinion of the research team that Multiculturalist Inclusive was integral to Internalization subscale (Vandiver et. al., 2001).

Vandiver et. al. 2001 conducted exploratory factor analysis to examine the integrity of the individual subscales. Both oblique and orthogonal rotations were run and examined. The criteria for factor retention and interpretation were as follows: parallel analysis, the scree test, a minimum number of four items per factor, structure coefficients $|\ .40 |$ and the interpretability of the factors (Vandiver et. al., 2001).

Five of the subscales yielded single factor solutions. Analysis of the 10 Assimilation items and the 10 Black Nationalist items resulted in 2 factor solutions. For the Assimilation subscale the 6 items making up the first factor best defined the theoretical construct and were retained. On the Black Nationalist subscale the emphasis on Factor 1 (6 items) was non-hatred whereas Factor 2 (4 items) emphasized Black empowerment. Factor 2 items were selected as best typifying the Black Nationalism construct (Vandiver et. al., 2001).

Phase 5

Vandiver et. al. (2002) conducted additional studies to further study the validity of the CRIS. In the first study a preliminary examination of the structural validity of the CRIS was conducted using exploratory factor analyses. Exploratory factor analyses (EFA) were conducted on the scores of two samples. In Study 1 a preliminary examination of the structural validity of the CRIS was conducted. Vandiver, et. al (2002) hypothesized that six factors would parallel the six CRIS subscales. Participants were 296 African American college students (76 males, 212 females, 8 unspecified) attending a predominantly White university. Ninety percent of the students classified themselves as undergraduate while 9% classified themselves as graduate students. Participants ranged in age from 17 to 43 ($M = 20.64$, $SD = 3.29$). The majority of participants described themselves their social class background as working ($n=127$) or middle ($n=143$) class. Participants completed two measures: a background information sheet and the CRIS. The CRIS utilized in Study 1 contained 64 items across eight subscales. Six subscales containing 50 items (Pre-encounter Assimilation (PA; 8 items; Pre-Encounter Miseducation (PM; 11 items), Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred (PSH; 7 items), Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (IEAW; 5 items), Internalization Black Nationalist (IBN; 11 items), and Internalization Multiculturalist (IMCI; 8 items). Two subscales under development containing 13 items were included but not used in Study 1. All items were rated on a 7-point Likert type scale with 1 indicating strong disagreement and 7 indicating strong agreement (Vandiver et. al. 2002).

Structural Validity

Confirmatory factor analyses were conducted to identify which model best characterized the CRIS. The proposed six-factor model was compared with seven other competing models: one-factor, two-factor, three-factor, four-factor, five-factor and two

higher order models. A one factor CRIS model was tested to examine the most reduced model. The two-factor model depicted global dimensions of pro-American and pro-Black attitudes with the Pre Encounter scales representing pro-American sentiment and the IEAW, IA and IMCI subscales representing pro-Black sentiment. The three-factor model examined by the CRIS by nigrescence stage constructs: Pre-Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, and Internalization. The four-factor model tested the presence of pro-race and anti-race constructs with pro-White sentiment represented by the PA items, anti-White represented by the anti-White subscale. Pro-Black sentiment was represented by the IA and IMCI subscales and anti-Black sentiment was represented by PM and PSH items. The five-factor model reflected the model proposed by Vandiver et. al. (2001) where IEAW and IA represent one factor rather than two. The six-factor model is the CRIS under present study. A second order model tested a single higher order factor labeled Race Salience consisting of pre-discovery identities and post discovery identities. Relationships among latent variables were allowed to covary for all seven factor models.

Confirmatory factor analyses on a covariance matrix of the CRIS scores was conducted using EQS for Windows 5.3 (Bentler & Wu, 1995 in Vandiver et. al . 2002). Maximum-likelihood estimation with the Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square (Satorra & Bentler, 1994) was used to correct for non-normality in data by rescaling goodness of fit chi squares and crating robust standard errors. The goodness of fit of the data to each model was assessed by using the chi square statistic (X^2), the chi square degrees of freedom (X^2/df) ratio and the comparative fit index (CFI) and the root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) values based upon a 90% confidence interval. None of the fit criteria supported the null, one-factor, two-factor, three-factor, four-factor or five-factor models. The X^2/df ratios were used to assess whether a sufficient number of parameters had been specified with

results for the aforementioned models indicating that less than an ideal number of parameters had been specified (range 2.53 to 10.77, the recommended ideal is between 1.00 and 2.00 Hair, Anderson, Tatham & Black, 1995). CFI's for these models fell below the recommended value of .95. The .90 confidence intervals of the RMSEAs suggested the models under present discussion did not attain a close fit between the data and the hypothesized models. The six factor model and both higher order models data better than either of the previous models as evidenced by robust CFIs ($>.90$), fair-to close fitting RMSEA values (between .04 and .06) and significant decreases in X^2/df ratio values in comparison with the other models (Vandiver et. al. 2002).

At the item level the standardized solutions for the six-factor and high order models were similar.

Validation of the CRIS subscale scores was based on the following criteria: A)unidimensional constructs with subscale intercorrelations not exceeding .30 and loading of subscale items on unique factors; B)internal consistency estimates of subscale scores at or above .80; C) evidence of convergent validity (at least 9% of shared variance with similar constructs; D)evidence of discriminant validity (less than 9% shared variance with theoretically distinct measures (Vandiver et. al., 2002).

Phase 5, Study One

Descriptive statistics related to the EFA for Study 1 were based upon fifty of the sixty-four items on the CRIS in the statistical analysis. The means of the subscales were calculated and used to allow for comparability across subscales with different numbers of items. Alpha coefficients for the CRIS subscales ranged from .76 to .89. The correlation between Immersion-Emmersion (IEAW) and Internalized Black Nationalist (IBN) was greater than .30 sharing approximately 19% of the variance with two correlations

approaching .30. Correlations corrected for attenuation revealed a relationship between IEAW and IBN that was potentially much higher than ideal.

EFA was conducted to provide information to further identify items that best reflect the hypothesized nigrescence identities. Factorability of scores on the CRIS items was based on the determinant of the correlation matrix ($12.009 \text{ E-}11$) and Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy (KMO - .83). Vandiver et. al interpreted a principle-axis factor extraction with an oblique rotation. Factor retention was based on multiple criteria, parallel analysis, a minimum loading of three items on each factor and a minimum factor coefficient of .50 for each item, and the interpretability of the factors. Vandiver et. al. 2002 extracted six factors that were supported by parallel analysis, and factor structures with more than six factors did not meet the other retention criteria. The sample size of 296 was adequate for producing a convergent and admissible solution.

Factor intercorrelations ranged from .01 to .26, (Mdn = .09) with the largest intercorrelation between the Anti-White and Black Nationalist factors. Items from each CRIS subscale loaded on the same factor and only one item had a cross-loading above .40. Factors were named after the subscales. Nine of the eleven Pre-encounter Miseducation items (PM) loaded at or above .50 on Factor 1. All 11 Internalized Black Nationalist subscales loaded on Factor II with five having structure coefficients at or above the cutoff. Factor III consisted of eight Internalized Multiculturalist Inclusive (IMCI) with loadings at or above the cutoff. Factor IV was comprised of seven Pre-encounter-Self Hatred (PSH) items. Pre-encounter Assimilation (PA) items loaded exclusively on Factor V with all but one of the eight items falling below .50. Factor VI was made up of all five Immersion-Emersion Anti-White items. Construct reliability estimates for subscales based on items that

loaded at or above .50 ranged from .72 to .89 with both IMCI and IBN estimates less than .80 (Vandiver et. al., 2002).

Phase 5, Study Two

Thirty-five items from Study 1 were retained for use in Study 2. Study 2 was an attempt to reduce the overlap between the Anti-White and Black Nationalist subscales to further increase the internal consistency scales on the Internalization subscales. Content analysis of the IBN subscale revealed that items with the term Afrocentric had the highest correlation with other IBN items and the lowest correlations with IEAW items. IMCI items were revised to be more precise in wording and reflect greater consistency in an effort to increase reliability coefficients that have been consistently in the .70 range (Vandiver et. al. 2002: Vandiver et. al. 2001).

Additional goals for Study 2 included further examination of the construct validity of the CRIS by conducting further test of confirmatory factor analyses. Convergent validity was examined by comparing the subscales of the CRIS with similar subscales on another measure of Black identity thought to be similar to CRIS in its focus on race salience and inclusion of scales that measure race salience (MIBI; Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley & Chavous, 1998). Discriminant validity was also examined by examining the relationship between the CRIS subscales and measures of personality, overall self-esteem and social desirability. The measures and hypotheses explore convergent and discriminant validity are grounded in the theory of revised nigrescence theory (Vandiver et. al., 2002).

Participants in Study 2 included 336 African Americans students comprised out of 119 males and 212 females with 5 persons not indicating their sex. Ages ranged from 17 to 59 with a median age of 20.68, standard deviation 3.96. Ninety-three percent of the participants were pursuing undergraduate degrees while six percent were pursuing graduate

degrees. Ninety percent of participants described themselves as working or middle class (Vandiver et. al. 2002).

Vandiver et. al. (2002) used mass distribution of flyers, large posters, key contacts and face-to-face recruiting to attract a diverse sample of African American students. Students were given monetary incentive of \$10 to compensate them for the approximately one hour of their time needed to complete the research packet. Four African Americans (two female undergraduates, one male graduate student, and one male faculty member) recruited students and administered the questionnaires. The survey packet was to groups at different sites on campus.

The instruments included in each packet were comprised of the following measures: the CRIS (Vandiver. al. 2000), the MIBI (Sellers et. al. 1998), the BFI (Big Five Inventory; John Donahue & Kentle, 1991), the RSES (Rosenberg, 1965), the Balanced Inventory for Desirable Responding (BIDR; Paulhus, 1984, 1991). The order of measures in each packet was counterbalanced to control for order effects (Vandiver et. al. 2002).

The CRIS utilized for Study 2 consisted of 52 items across eight subscales. Six subscales containing 39 items were utilized in this study: Pre-Encounter Assimilation (PA; 7 items), Pre-Encounter Miseducation (PM; five items), Pre-Encounter Self-Hatred (PSH; six items), Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (IEAW; six items); Internalization Afrocentric (IA; six items) and Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive (IMI; nine items). Thirty-five of thirty-nine items remained unchanged from Study 1 to Study 2, two items were new, two from the previous studies of the CRIS and one filler items was included.

Preliminary analyses used scores from 309 of the 336 participants in statistical analyses. Thirteen cases were eliminated due to random missing data with no systematic nonresponse to specific items identified. In addition, 14 additional cases with extreme

outliers ($p < .001$) were identified and excluded by using Mahalanobis distance (Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). The exclusion of the cases did not alter the demographic profile and the sample size of 300 was adequate for conducting confirmatory factor analyses (Comrey, 1988, Floyd & Widaman, 1995; MacCallum et. al. 1999).

Descriptive statistics for the CRIS revealed that IEAW was correlated with both Internalization subscales, sharing 16% of the variance with IA and 14% with IMCI. Participants scoring high in anti-White sentiments were more likely to endorse an Afrocentric worldview and were less inclined to espouse a multicultural ideology. All but one of the alpha estimates were above .80. Further increases in equivalence in subscale format were achieved by reducing the number of items in each subscale to five by means of reliability analyses. Two items were removed from PA, four items were removed from IMCI, and one item each was removed from PSH, IEAW, and IA resulting in a 30-item scale with five items per subscale. The alpha items based on five items per subscale ranged from .78 to .89.

The instruments of each packet were comprised of the following measures: the CRIS (Vandiver, et. al. 2000), the MIBI (Sellers et. al., 1998), the Big Five Personality Inventory (BFI; John, Donahue, & Kentle, 1991), the RSES (Rosenberg, 1965), the Balanced Inventory for Desirable Responding (BIDR; Paulhus, 1984, 1991). The order of measures in each packet was counterbalanced to control for order effects (Vandiver, et. al. 2002).

The MIBI is a 56-item, Likert-type questionnaire designed to assess the identity of African Americans across the dimensions of Centrality, Ideology and Regard. The centrality dimension consists of 36 items forming 4 subscales with 9 items in each subscale that measure beliefs about the way African Americans should exist and commingle in society. The Assimilationist subscale measures the commonalities among all humans while the

Oppressed Minority subscale taps into the individual's perception of connections to other minority groups. The Nationalist subscale was designed to assess the individual's sense of the uniqueness of being Black. The third and final dimension, Regard is comprised of 2, 6 –item measures, Private Regard, the personal views on hold about being Black while Public Regard assess one's beliefs about other's perceptions of Blackness. The Centrality and Nationalist subscales of the MIBI stress the salience of race, whereas the Assimilationist and Humanist subscales de-emphasize race (Vandiver, et. al. 2002, Seller et. al., 1998).

Vandiver et. al (2002) hypothesized that positive relationships between IEAW and IA and the Centrality and Nationalist subscales would exist because these subscales measure identities that emphasize the importance of race. A positive relationship was also hypothesized to exist between PA, Assimilationist and Humanist subscales because each of these three identities downplay the significance of race. Inverse relationships were hypothesized between PA which downplays race and the Centrality subscale of the MIBI which characterized individuals for whom race is highly salient. Similarly, IEAW and the MIBI's Humanist subscale were hypothesized to have an inverse relationship due to different foci with regard to the place of race in identity. Hypotheses regarding affective valence and the evaluation of the meaning race were also formulated to explore convergent validity. PSH and PM, which both involve negative evaluations of Blackness, were hypothesized to have an inverse relationship with the MIBI's Public Regard subscale and the Private Regard subscale. Positive scores on the MIBI are associated with more positive evaluations of Blackness. The CRIS PM subscale measures belief in negative stereotypes with regard to Blacks and may be inversely related to the Public Regard subscale of the MIBI while the CRIS PSH subscale reflects endorsement of personal self-hatred of being Black

and is hypothesized to be related to the MIBI's Private Regard subscale that measures personal evaluation of Blacks (Vandiver et. al., 2002)

Eight of the ten hypotheses with regard to convergent validity between the CRIS and the MIBI were met (minimum correlation of $|\ .30 |$ at a significance level of .001). IA and IEAW had moderate, positive correlations with the MIBI's Nationalism Scale (IA/Nationalism, $r=.59$, $p<.001$; IEAW/Nationalism $r=.54$, $p<.001$). As predicted the PA and IMCI subscale of the CRIS both had positive correlations with the MIBI's Humanist subscale (PA/Humanist, $r=.33$, $p<.001$; IMCI/Humanist $r=.32$, $p<.001$). The IMCI was the only scale of the CRIS positively correlated with the MIBI's Oppressed Minority Scale ($r=.30$, $p<.001$). Individuals scoring high on PA also scored high on the MIBI's assimilation subscale (PA/Assimilation, $r=.41$, $p<.001$). Inverse relationships were found between: IEAW and the MIBI's Humanism subscale ($r=-.30$, $p<.001$); PA and the MIBI's Centrality subscale ($r=-.40$, $p<.001$). An unpredicted, yet theoretically expectable inverse relationship was found between PA and the MIBI's Nationalism subscale ($r=.31$, $p<.001$). One hypothesis with regard to racial evaluation was supported. PSH was inversely related to Private Regard ($r=-.35$, $p<.001$) (Vandiver et. al. 2002).

Discriminant Validity

Multicultural attitudes are often considered socially desirable within the larger American culture. The CRIS was hypothesized to have no correlation with BIDR, a measure of social desirability that taps two aspects of social desirability, Impression Management (IM) and Self-Deceptive Enhancement (SDE). No CRIS subscales obtained correlations above $|\ .30 |$ with either IM or SDE (Vandiver et.al. 2002).

The CRIS is not a measure of personality but a measure of the relative importance of Blackness for an individual and the affective evaluation of Blackness. PSH is the only CRIS

subscale thought to be correlated with general personality because it involves incorporation of high race salience and a very negative affective valence that includes feelings of self-hatred. Vandiver et. al. (2002) hypothesized that PSH would have a positive relationship to the Big Five Inventory (BFI) Neuroticism subscale. The BFI is a general measure of personality. The PSH was hypothesized to have inverse relationship with RSES, a global measure of self-esteem. No relationships were found between any of the CRIS subscales including the hypothesized relationship between PSH and the BFI Neuroticism subscale. However, PSH did have its strongest relationship with the Neuroticism subscale. The PSH did have a modest negative correlation with global self-esteem. No other CRIS subscale was related to self-esteem.

Ways of Coping Questionnaire (WOCQ)

The Ways of Coping Questionnaire (*WOCQ*) is a questionnaire containing sixty-seven questions which assess coping styles in individuals across situations. The WOCQ takes a process oriented view of coping where coping is defined as the ongoing cognitive and behavioral efforts to manage specific external and/or internal demands that are appraised as taxing or exceeding the resources of the person (Lazarus, R., 1993).

The WOCQ was developed by the Berkeley Stress and Coping Project (Folkman, S., Lazarus, R., 1988). The WOCQ is the most widely used technique of its kind. Each subject is invited to endorse whatever thoughts and actions they employed to cope with a particular stressful situation on a 4-point Likert type scale. There are eight factors yielding eight scores representing the following coping strategies:

1. Confrontative Coping
2. Seeking Social Support
3. Planful Problem Solving
4. Self-control
5. Distancing
6. Positive Reappraisal

7. Accepting Responsibility
8. Escape-Avoidance

The WOCQ arose from a revision of the Ways of Coping Checklist (WCC) (Folkman & Lazarus, 1980). The WOCQ was given to 108 undergraduate students on three separate occasions and a factor analysis of the 324 completed questionnaires was conducted. Items that did not load clearly on one factor were deleted. Eight subscales were developed, six of which are emotion focused scales. Internal consistency reliability subscales were moderate (Folkman & Lazarus, 1985).

Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS)

The MSPSS is a simple, easy to administer self-report measure of subjectively assessed social support. The scale contains twelve items addressing different sources of support: family, friends, and significant others. Subjects are asked to answer a 7-point Likert type scale ranging from strongly disagree (1) to very strongly agree (7). Each subscale is composed of four questions. Total scores are then assessed on each subscale. The overall score is also measured (Zimet, G., Dahlem, S., Zimet, S., & Farley, 1988).

Subjects included 136 females and 139 male university undergraduates. Research demonstrated that the MSPSS has good internal and test-retest reliability as well as moderate construct validity. High levels of social support are associated with low levels of depression and anxiety symptomatology as measured by the Hopkins Symptoms Checklist (Zimet, G., Dahlem, N., Zimet, S., Farley, G., 1988).

Further studies support the use of the MSPSS as a psychometrically sound instrument (Zimet et.al, 1988; Zimet, Powell, Farley, Werkman and Berkoff, 1990). Validity and reliability of the MSPSS were also supported in a follow-up confirmation study (Dahlem, N., Zimet, G., & Walker, R., 1991).

Satisfaction with Life Scale

The Satisfaction with Life Scale, SWLS, Diener, Emmons, Larsen and Griffen (1985) is a five item scale with Likert-type questions from one (strongly disagree) to seven (strongly agree) designed to assess life satisfaction as a cognitive-judgmental process. In the initial study of scale construction 48 self-report items were constructed. The factor analysis resulted in three factors: positive affect, negative affect and satisfaction. The affect items were eliminated as were 10 satisfaction items with loading of less than .60. Five additional items were dropped due to high semantic similarity (Diener, et. al., 1985).

One hundred and seventy six undergraduate students enrolled in an Introductory Psychology course were administered the SWLS in a group setting. Two months later seventy-six of the original group of participants were readministered the test. The possible range of scores on the SWLS is from five to thirty-five. The two month test- retest correlation was .82 and the coefficient alpha was .87. The interim correlation matrix was factor analyzed using principle axis factor analyses. The number of factors to be extracted was determined by an examination the scree plot of eigenvalues. A single factor criterion emerged that accounted for 66% of the variance (Diener, et. al., 1985).

Test of concurrent validity were performed comparing the SWLS to other measures of personality and subjective well-being. Sample 1 consisted of the same 176 undergraduate students sampled in the aforementioned study and a second sample consisted of 163 undergraduate introductory psychology students. Participants in Sample 1 were given the SWLS and 10 additional measures of subjective well-being that included: (1) Cantril's Self-Anchoring Ladder (1965), (2) Gurin, Veroff and Feld's (1960) item, (3) Andrew and Withey's (1976) D-T scale, (4) Fordyce's (1978) single item measure of happiness, (5) Fordyce's (1978) percent of time happy question, (6) Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) semantic

differential –like scale, 7) Bradburn's Affect Balance Scale (1969), 8) Tellegen's well-being subscale of the Differential Personality Questionnaire and 9) Larsen's Affect Intensity Measure (1983). Moderately strong correlations with all of the subjective well-being scales except the AIM were found. (Diener, et. al., 1985).

Sample 2 participants were administered the nine measures of subjective well-being noted above, the Marlowe-Crowne scale of social desirability and various measures of personality that included: Buss and Plomin's EASI-III (1973) survey of temperaments, the Rosenberg Self Esteem scale (1965), the Neuroticism scale of the Eysenck Personality Inventory (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1964) and a symptom checklist similar to the Hopkins inventory (Derogatis, Lipman, Rickels, & Plomin, 1974). The second sample was also asked to rate life satisfaction across 10 key life domains and administered the Marlowe-Crowne (Crowne & Marlowe, 1964) scale of social desirability. The ratings across the life satisfaction domains were summed in an unweighted way to yield a domain satisfaction composite score (Diener et. al., 1985).

The Marlowe-Crowne measure correlation with SWLS was .02 indicating that the SWLS does not evoke a social desirability response set. Moderate correlations that follow were found between the SWLS and various measures of personality and life satisfaction: self-esteem, .54; symptom checklist, -.41; neuroticism, -.48; emotionality, -.25; activity, .08; sociability, .20; and impulsivity, -.03. Generally, individuals that express greater life satisfaction also appear fairly well adjusted and free from psychopathology (Diener, et. al, 1985).

The properties of the SWLS were also examined with a geriatric sample of participants. Participants were interviewed about their life with interviewers using a set of

structured questions that assessed the extent to which they remained active and engaged in self initiated learning. The ratings of the two interviewers correlated .73. The scores of the interviewers were a new, composite life satisfaction judgment. This composite score was correlated at .43 with the SWLS. The SWLS and LSI were correlated at .46 and the LSI and composite score from the interview were correlated at .68. Item-total correlations for the five SWLS items revealed good internal consistency for the scale with the following correlations achieved for items one through five of the SWLS: .81, .63, .61, .75, and .66 (Diener, et. al., 1985).

Affect and life satisfaction depend on appraisal but are distinct because individuals may ignore or deny aspects of their life that are undesirable, affective responses may be of short duration in comparison to life satisfaction which is designed to tap into global judgments of lasting duration. Lastly, life satisfaction is often about conscious values and goals while affective reactions may reflect unconscious motives and the impact of bodily states (Pavot and Diener, 1993).

A score of 20 on the SWLS represents the neutral point on the scale at which the respondent is equally satisfied and dissatisfied. Scores between 5 and 9 are indicative of extreme dissatisfaction with life, between 15 and 19 is slightly dissatisfied, between 21 and 25 equals slightly satisfied. Scores between 26 and 30 represent a judgment of satisfaction with life (Pavot and Diener, 1993).

The SWLS provides stable assessments of life satisfaction over the short term and it is also sensitive to changes in life satisfaction over longer periods of time. Changes in life satisfaction were also found to correlate in expected direction with positive and negative life events. Magnus, Diener, Fujita and Pavot (1992) found that changes in life events predicted

later changes in life satisfaction as measured by the SWLS. Patients receiving psychotherapy scored higher on the SWLS than patients who were awaiting psychotherapy (Friedman, 1991 in Pavot and Diener, 1993). Caregivers of spouses with dementia also showed a decline in life satisfaction over time (Vitaliano, Russo, Young and Mauro, 1991).

Diener et. al. (1991) also reported evidence of adequate construct validity as psychiatric patients, newly incarcerated prisoners, abused women and students from countries in turmoil all evidenced low scores on the SWLS. Pavot, Diener, Colving & Sandvik (1991) found strong evidence that the SWLS converges with several other measures of subjective well-being and life satisfaction. There is a strong negative correlation between the SWLS and the Beck Depression Inventory (Blais, Vallerand, Pelletier & Briere, 1989). Smead (1991) found a correlation of .44 between the SWLS and positive affect and of -.48 between the SWLS and negative affect. Geroge (1991) found correlations between the SWLS and the Multidimensional Personality Questionnaire of .47 for positive affect and -.26 for negativity. Extraversion and neuroticism are also correlated with the SWLS (Diener & Larsen, 1992; Pavot & Diener, 1993). Marital status and health are also correlated with the SWLS (Arrindell, Meeuwesent & Huyse, 1991).

The SWLS is available in several languages with initial evidence suggesting that the factorial structure of the SWLS is the same across cultural groups. However, no norms exist as of yet for various ethnic-cultural groups (Pavot & Diener, 1993).

Limitations of the SWLS include the fact that respondents to the SWLS can manipulate their scores if motivated to do so. The SWLS limits assessment even though affect is related to one's sense of satisfaction. Lastly, respondents are allowed to choose whatever standards of comparison they wish to determine whether or not they are satisfied

which means that the comparisons between individuals are likely to vary a great deal. Different domains of life may be more or less salient for individuals at different points in time and this is also unknown and therefore a possible source of error (Pavot & Diener, 1993).

Operational Hypotheses

1. Hypothesis One - Women that maintain a high level of connectedness to African American culture (high AAAS score) and that possess identities where race is highly salient (IA or IMCI of the CRIS) will report more experiences of racism. Specifically,
 - a) Traditional acculturation status, as measured by total score on the AAAS will be positively correlated with race-related stress as measured by total on the IRRS; and
 - b) Total scores on IA and IMCI of the CRIS will be positively correlated with total score on the IRRS; and
 - c) Traditional acculturation status, as measured by the AAAS and identities characterized by high race salience and positive affective valence, CRIS IA or IMCI, will improve the prediction of race-related stress as measured by the IRRS.
2. Hypothesis Two –Traditional acculturation status, as measured by total score on the AAAS and an internalized identity, as measured by the IA or IMCI subscales of the CRIS, will predict subjective well-being, as measured by the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS).
3. Hypothesis Three–Women who remain connected to traditional African American culture and possess an internalized identity will report greater satisfaction with life and social support. Specifically,
 - a) Higher levels of perceived social support as measured by the Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support will be positively correlated with life satisfaction; and

- b) African American women with an internalized identity, as measured by the IA and IMCI subscales of the CRIS, will report greater life satisfaction; and c) Higher levels of perceived social support, traditional acculturation status and internalized identity, IA or IMCI of the CRIS, will predict greater life satisfaction as measured by the Satisfaction with Life Scale, SWLS.
4. Hypothesis Four – Traditional acculturation status and internalized identity will predict more frequent coping efforts.
- Specifically,
- a) Traditional acculturation status as measured by the AAAS will be positively correlated with higher scores on the coping subscales of the Ways of Coping Questionnaire.
 - b) Internalized identity as measured by the IA and IMCI subscales of the CRIS will be correlated with higher scores on the coping subscales of WOCQ.
 - c) Traditional acculturation status as measured by the AAAS and internalized identity as measured by the IA and IMCI subscales of the CRIS, will predict increased coping as measured by the subscales of the WOCQ.

Chapter IV: Results

This chapter reports the findings of this study, delineating the hypotheses that were supported and unsupported. Descriptive statistics for each scale are described along with tables listing means, standard deviations, scale ranges and internal consistency reliabilities. An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests. The principal analyses employed in this study were bivariate correlation and regression analysis.

Handling Missing Data

There were missing data for each of the scales. There were missing data for five participants on the AAAS, six participants on the CRIS, three participants on the IRRS, eight participants on the WOCQ, two participants on the MSPSS and two participants on the SWLS. Missing data were replaced with the mean subscale score of each subscale for that individual participant, except in two cases where the participant failed to answer any questions for the subscales of the AAAS and another participant that failed to answer any questions for the IMCI of the CRIS. Three participants did not complete the entire WOCQ; two did not complete the MSPSS and four participants did not complete SWLS. These participants were excluded from analyses that focused on these scales.

Descriptive Results

The African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS)

The majority of women in this sample maintained a strong connection to African American culture. Seventy percent of the women in this sample endorsed beliefs and attitudes that reflect significant agreement with an African American cultural frame of reference. The means score is more than one standard deviation above the neutral point for this scale. The range of scores, mean and standard deviation are comparable to scores

obtained with other studies that utilized the AAAS (Bailey, Nowicki, and Cole, 1998; Landrine, 1996).

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations and Reliability Scores for the African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS) and Subscales (N = 100)

Scale	<i>M, (SD)</i>	Range	Alpha
AAAS Total Score	325.97, (54.12)	205-467	.90
TFPV	53.73, (12.10)	30-83	.66
PAAT	49.43, (11.59)	14-74	.73
TF	37.30, (12.27)	14-70	.73
IA	27.42, (8.36)	8-46	.81
THBP	51.25, (12.15)	18-75	.69
RBP	34.08, (8.90)	6-42	.84
TS	52.12, (12.01)	15-74	.63
Superstitions	20.64, (7.18)	5-35	.73

Note. AAAS = African American Acculturation Scale; TFPV = Traditional Family Practices and Values; PAAT = Preference for African American Things; TF = Traditional Foods; IA = Interracial Attitudes; THBP = Traditional Health Beliefs and Practices; RBP = Religious Beliefs and Practices; TS = Traditional Socialization.

The Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) (N=100)

The strength of the CRIS is that it affords the researcher a range of Black identity types, rather than a less nuanced, simplified taxonomy of identity types. Participants most frequently endorsed a multicultural ethnic identity. Paired sample t-tests were conducted to compare mean scores on each subscale of the CRIS with the Internalized Multiculturalism (IMCI) subscale of the CRIS. The mean score of the IMCI ($M = 5.16$, $SD = 1.21$) was significantly higher than the mean score of the Preencounter Assimilation (PA) subscale ($M = 3.41$, $SD = 1.55$) $t(100) = 9.172$, $p = .000$; Preencounter Miseducation (PM) subscale ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.27$), $t(100) = 10.019$, $p = .000$; Preencounter Self Hatred (PSH) subscale ($M = 1.94$, $SD = 1.16$), $t(100) = 18.980$, $p = .000$; Immersion-Emersion Anti-White (IEAW)

subscale ($M = 1.63, SD = .90$), $t(100) = 20.953, p = .000$) and the Internalization Afrocentricity (IA) subscale of the CRIS ($M = 3.06, SD = 1.19$), $t(100) = 12.430, p = .000$.

These results as a whole show that most women in the sample were most highly identified with being multicultural. The mean scores for the two identity types that reflect self-hatred and anti-White rage were low. All the CRIS scales demonstrated strong reliability.

This pattern of endorsement of different identity types is consistent with another recent study that used the CRIS as a measure of Black identity type in a community sample (Townes, Chavez-Korrell, Cunningham, 2009). The patterns of identity type endorsed are also similar to the findings of studies with African American college students. The mean scores in each category of the CRIS for college samples is higher for the internalized identity types when compared with previously cited community samples (Cokely, 2005; Vandiver et al., 2009).

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations and Reliability for the CRIS and Subscales (N=101)

Scale	<i>M, (SD)</i>	Range	Alpha
PA	3.41, (1.55)	1-6.80	.82
PM	3.38, (1.27)	1-6.40	.77
PSH	1.94, (1.16)	1-5.20	.80
IEAW	1.63, (.90)	1-5.20	.77
IA	3.06, (1.19)	1-7	.78
IMCI	5.16, (1.21)	2.2-7.0	.76

Note. CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Preencounter Assimilation; PM = Preencounter Miseducation; PM = Miseducation; PSH = Preencounter Self Hatred; Immersion-Emersion Anti-White; IA = Internalization Afrocentricity; IMCI = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive.

Index of Race-Related Stress (IRRS)

Table 3 lists the means, standard deviations and score ranges for the IRRS. Of the various types of racism, participants in the present study reported experiencing cultural racism most frequently, with individual and institutional racism reported less frequently. The mean score for the Cultural Racism subscale ($M = 2.40, SD = .94$) was significantly higher than the mean score of the Institutional Racism subscale ($M = 1.20, SD = 1.01$) $t(100) = 13.963, p = .000$; the Individual Racism subscale ($M = 1.81, SD = 1.06$), $t(100) = 8.476, p = .000$; and the Collective Racism subscale ($M = .72, SD = .84$), $t(100) = 19.227, p = .000$. This suggests the participants recorded fewer personal encounters with face-to-face racism but have observed what they perceive to be racism embedded in American culture as a whole.

This pattern of responses to commonly-encountered types of racism is similar to findings in other studies of African Americans and their experience of stress due to racism (Utsey, 1997; Utsey, Lanier, Williams, Bolden, and Lee, 2006; Utsey, Payne, Jackson, and Jones, 2002). Participants had experience with racism and were generally somewhat upset by these experiences of racism.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations and Reliability Scores for the IRRS and Subscales (N=101)

Scale	<i>M, (SD)</i>	Range	Alpha
IRRS Total Score	1.71, (.82)	.02 – 3.65	.95
Cultural Racism	2.40, (.94)	.06 – 3.94	.92
Institutional Racism	1.20, (1.01)	.00 – 3.82	.87
Individual Racism	1.81, (1.06)	.00-4.00	.90
Collective Racism	.72, (.84)	.00-3.50	.80

Note. IRRS = Index of Race-related stress.

Ways of Coping Questionnaire (WOCQ)

Table 4 presents the means, standard deviations, and score ranges for the WOCQ. Study participants used a variety of different coping skills. Preferences were shown for positive reappraisal, planful problem solving, self-controlling, and seeking social support, over escape avoidance, accepting responsibility, and confrontive coping, distancing, escape avoidance, and accepting responsibility.

The mean score for Positive Reappraisal ($M = 1.62, SD = .80$) was significantly higher than the mean score for escape avoidance ($M = .92, SD = .70$) $t(98) = 8.734, p=.00$; accepting responsibility ($M = .99, SD = .71$), $t(98) = 8.985, p=.00$; distancing ($M = 1.00, SD = .70$) $t(98) = 8.395, p=.00$; and confrontive coping ($M = 1.05, SD = .66$), $t(98) = 8.292, p=.00$.

The mean score for planful problem solving ($M = 1.61, SD = .77$) was significantly higher than the mean was significantly higher than the mean score for escape avoidance ($M = .92, SD = .70$) $t(98) = 8.054, p=.00$; accepting responsibility ($M = .99, SD = .71$), $t(98) = 7.591, p=.00$; distancing ($M = 1.00, SD = .70$) $t(98) = 8.306, p=.00$, confrontive ($M = 1.05, SD = .66$), $t(98) = 8.429, p=.00$.

The mean score for self-controlling coping ($M = 1.49, SD = .65$) was significantly higher than the mean was significantly higher than the mean score for escape avoidance ($M = .92, SD = .70$) $t(98) = 9.007, p=.00$; accepting responsibility ($M = .99, SD = .71$), $t(98) = 9.566, p=.00$; distancing ($M = 1.00, SD = .70$) $t(98) = 7.802, p=.00$, and confrontive coping ($M = 1.05, SD = .66$), $t(98) = 6.726, p=.00$

The mean score for seeking social support ($M = 1.46, SD = .81$) was significantly higher than the mean was significantly higher than the mean score for escape avoidance ($M =$

.92, $SD = .70$) $t(98) = 6.028$, $p = .00$; accepting responsibility ($M = .99$, $SD = .71$), $t(98) = 5.435$, $p = .00$; distancing ($M = 1.00$, $SD = .70$) $t(98) = 5.025$, $p = .00$, and confrontive coping ($M = 1.05$, $SD = .66$), $t(98) = 5.632$, $p = .00$.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliability Scores for the WOCQ (N=99)

Scale	<i>M, (SD)</i>	Range	Alpha
WOCQ	1.27, (.54)	.02 – 2.62	.96
Confrontive	1.05, (.66)	.00 – 2.83	.71
Distancing	1.00, (.70)	.00 – 3.00	.79
Self-Controlling	1.49, (.65)	.00 – 2.90	.70
Social Support	1.46, (.81)	.00 – 3.00	.81
Accepting Responsibility	.99, (.71)	.00 – 3.00	.63
Escape Avoidance	.92, (.70)	.00 – 2.63	.79
Planful Problem Solving	1.61, (.77)	.00 – 3.00	.81
Positive Reappraisal	1.62, (.80)	.00 – 3.00	.83

Note. WOCQ = Ways of Coping Questionnaire.

Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS) (N=99)

Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) (N=98)

Most women in the study reported strong social support, with the mean score reaching near eighty percent of the maximum possible score ($M = 66.45$, $SD = 12.73$). In addition, women in this sample were at least slightly satisfied with their lives. The overall mean was above the neutral point ($M = 21.58$, $SD = 5.73$).

Differences Due to Administration Format

Table 5 shows that there were significant differences in subscales scores as a function of administration format. Participants that used the internet had higher levels of education when compared with participants that completed the hard copy questionnaires ($p \leq .04$). Participants that completed the hard copy questionnaires had significantly higher means on the Pre-encounter Miseducation and Pre-encounter Assimilation subscales of the CRIS and

the Confrontive Coping Scale of the WOCQ. Women that completed the hard copy questionnaires may have racial identities that accord less centrality to race and be more willing to use confrontation to cope with challenges. Consequently, the administration format and education will be covariates in subsequent analyses.

Table 5

Significant Differences in Mean Scores as a Function of Administration Format

Scale	Paper	Internet	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>
	(N=51)	(N=50)		
	<i>M, (SD)</i>	<i>M, (SD)</i>		
PA	18.98, (6.73)	15.04, (8.24)	2.63	.01**
PM	18.80, (5.98)	14.96, (6.12)	3.19	.002**
PSH	10.16, (5.73)	9.24, (5.86)	.80	.43
IEAW	8.94, (4.93)	7.38, (3.89)	1.76	.08
IA	15.53, (6.11)	15.04, (5.82)	.41	.68
IMCI	24.90, (6.10)	26.74, (5.92)	-1.54	.13
TotalCRIS	97.31, (18.22)	88.40, (15.91)	2.62	.01**
Confrontive	7.14, (4.54)	5.44, (3.10)	2.18	.03*
Distancing	6.80, (4.80)	5.20, (3.36)	1.92	.06
SelfControlling	10.73, (5.37)	10.12, (3.60)	.67	.50
SocialSupport	9.36, (5.10)	8.18, (4.52)	1.22	.22
AcceptingResponsibility	4.20, (3.09)	3.72, (2.55)	.85	.40
EscapeAvoidance	7.22, (5.67)	6.54, (5.00)	.64	.53
PlanfulProblemSolving	10.14, (5.37)	9.16, (3.77)	1.06	.29
PositiveReappraisal	12.37, (6.00)	10.34, (5.03)	1.82	.07
TotalCoping	68.54, (11.30)	64.36, (13.81)	1.66	.10

CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Pre-encounter Assimilation; PM = Pre-encounter Miseducation; PM = Miseducation; PSH = Pre-encounter Self Hatred; Immersion-Emersion Anti-White; IA = Internalization Afrocentricity; IMCI = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive.

$p \leq .05 = *$. $p \leq .01 = **$.

Tests of Hypotheses

This study investigated the relationship of acculturation status, type of ethnic identity, and perceived stress due to racism-related events. Additionally, the study explored the influence of acculturation and identity on race-related stress, coping, social support, and

satisfaction with life. These concepts were measured using six main variables. Four hypotheses were examined using the following variables: AAAS, CRIS, IRRS, WOCQ, MSPSS, and SWLS. Bivariate correlation analyses were employed to test Hypotheses One through Three.

Hypothesis One

Hypothesis 1A

Table 6 presents the correlations found between the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS), the African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS), and the Index of Race-related stress (IRRS). There were several sub-hypotheses regarding the specific scores that might support the overall hypothesis. Hypothesis 1A states that acculturation to African American culture as measured by the AAAS would be positively correlated with race-related stress as measured by the IRRS. This hypothesis was supported. There was a significant positive correlation found between the AAAS and the IRRS ($r=.31, p \leq .01$). This indicates that women who reported greater engagement with traditional African American culture reported experiencing more race-related stress.

Table 6

CRIS Racial Identity Subscale Correlations with the AAAS and IRRS

Racial Identity Subscales	AAAS	IRRS
Pre-encounter Assimilation	.09	-.32**
Pre-encounter Miseducation	.10	-.09
Pre-encounter Self-Hatred	.06	.34**
Immersion-Emersion Anti-White	.07	.20*
Internalization Afrocentric	.26*	.24*
Internalization-Multicultural	.13	.28**

Note. CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Preencounter Assimilation; PM = Preencounter Miseducation; PM = Miseducation; PSH = Preencounter Self Hatred; Immersion-Emersion Anti-White; IA = Internalization Afrocentricity; IMCI = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive. AAAS = African American Acculturation Scale. IRRS = Index of Race-related stress.

$p \leq .05 = *$, $p \leq .01 = **$.

Hypothesis 1B

Hypothesis 1B

Hypothesis 1B states that that women who possess identities in which race is highly salient with a positive affective valence will report having experienced more racism as compared to women that have identities in which race is not salient or who possess an identity in which race has a negative affective valence. Specifically an internalized identity, whether afrocentric or multicultural will be correlated with higher scores on the IRRS. There are two internalized identities that the CRIS was designed to measure. An Internalized Afrocentric (IA) identity describes individuals that emphasize the importance of identification with and empowerment of all African Americans, whereas individuals with an internalized multiculturalist identity (IMCI) emphasize the importance of identification with and empowerment of all oppressed groups within society. There was a significant and positive relationship between Internalization Afrocentricity and the total IRRS score ($r = .24$, $p \leq .05$). There was also a significant and positive relationship between a multiculturalist identity as measured by the Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive subscale of the CRIS

and the total IRRS score ($r=.28, p\leq.01$). These findings show that women who possess identities where race is highly salient and imbued with positive emotion -- whether specific to being African American or more generally being a part of an oppressed minority -- experienced more race-related stress.

Hypothesis 1C

Hypothesis 1C states that women with both higher acculturation to African American culture as measured by AAAS and attitudes consistent with an internalized identity as measured by Internalization Afrocentrism (IA) or Internalization Multiculturalism (IMCI) of the CRIS, would report higher race-related stress as measured by IRRS scores. A regression analysis was employed to determine if the addition of acculturation to African American culture, IA and IMCI improved the prediction of race-related stress, controlling for education level and administration format. At the first step, administration format and education explained 6% of the variance in race-related stress ($R^2 = .06; F(2,97) = 3.27, p = .04$). At the second step, CRIS identities significantly accounted for an additional 34% of race-related stress variance ($F(8, 97) = 7.44, p=.001$). The addition of the AAAS in step three explained an additional 6% of race-related stress variance ($F(9, 97) = 8.37, p=.002$). More specifically, in the overall model, racial identity IMCI ($\beta = .279, t = 3.226, p = .002$) and AAAS ($\beta = .261, t = 3.144, p = .002$) were significant positive predictors of race-related stress. These findings indicate that when women who endorse an Afrocentric or multicultural identity (race is highly salient) and are highly connected to traditional Blackculture, they are more likely to report experiences of stress due to racism. In addition, administration format and education did not explain nearly as much of the variance as did the main predictor variables.

Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis Two states that women who remain connected to traditional Black culture and who possess an identity which race is salient with a positive affective valence will be found to experience greater satisfaction with life. Table 7 presents the African American Acculturation Scale (AAAS) and the correlations found with the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) and the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS).

Table 7

Racial Identity Subscale Correlations with the AAAS and the SWLS

Racial Identity Subscales	AAAS	SWLS
Pre-encounter Assimilation	.09	.12
Pre-encounter Miseducation	.10	-.06
Pre-encounter Self Hatred	.06	-.25*
Immersion Emersion Anti-White	.07	-.15
Internalization Afrocentric	.26*	-.01
Internalization Multicultural	.13	.06

Note. CRIS = Cross Racial Identity Scale; PA = Preencounter Assimilation; PM = Preencounter Miseducation; PM = Miseducation; PSH = Preencounter Self Hatred; Immersion-Emersion Anti-White; IA = Internalization Afrocentricity; IMCI = Internalization Multiculturalist Inclusive. AAAS = African American Acculturation Scale. SWLS= Satisfaction with Life Scale.

$p \leq .05 = *$, $p \leq .01 = **$.

A regression analysis was employed to determine if the addition of acculturation and internalized identity would explain more of the variance in satisfaction with life beyond that afforded by administration format and education alone. At the first step, administration format and education explained 6% of the variance in race-related stress ($R^2 = .06$; $F(2, 95) = 3.02$, $p = .05$). At the second step, CRIS identities significantly accounted for an additional 15% of the variance in the satisfaction with life scale ($F(8, 95) = 1.94$, $p = .06$). In the final step, the addition of the AAAS accounted for 16% of the variance in the satisfaction with life scale ($F(9, 95) = 1.86$, $p = .07$). There were no significant predictive

relationships found between degree of acculturation to African American culture as measured by the AAAS ($\beta=.117$, $t=1.113$; $p=.269$) and an internalized racial identity as measured by the Internalized Afrocentrism (IA) ($\beta=.069$, $t=.575$, $p=.567$) or Internalized Multiculturalism Inclusive (IMCI) ($\beta=-.021$, $t=-.196$, $p=.845$) subscales of the CRIS, and life satisfaction, as measured by the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS), $F(9, 95) = 1.864$, $p=.07$. Therefore, Hypothesis Two was not supported.

Hypothesis Three

Additionally, Hypothesis Three states that social support along with traditional acculturation status and an internalized identity would help to account for more of the variance in satisfaction with life.

Hypothesis 3A

Women who reported greater social support did report experiencing greater satisfaction with life.

Hypothesis 3B

Hypothesis 3C

A regression analysis was employed to determine if the addition of acculturation and racial identity would explain more of the variance in social support and life satisfaction controlling for education and administration format. At the first step, administration format and education explained 6% of the variance in life satisfaction ($R^2 = .06$; $F(2, 95) = 3.02$, $p=.05$). At the second step, the CRIS accounted for an additional 9% of the variance in satisfaction with life. The CRIS was not a significant additional predictor of satisfaction with life controlling for administration format and previous education. At the third step, the AAAS and the MSPSS explained an additional 7.7% of the variance in satisfaction with life which is significant ($F(10, 95) = 2.516$, $p=.01$). The fully adjusted model is significant, $R^2 =$

.228, $p = .011$. MSPSS is a significant, independent predictor of life satisfaction ($\beta = .286$, $t = 2.679$, $p = .01$), however, AAAS is not a significant, independent predictor of life satisfaction ($\beta = .088$, $t = .867$, $p = .39$). Our hypothesis was partially supported. Participants with higher social support reported higher life satisfaction. Life satisfaction was unrelated to women's acculturation status in this sample. Therefore, Hypothesis Three was not supported.

Hypothesis Four

Hypothesis Four states that women that remain connected to traditional African American culture and possess identities in which race is highly salient make more coping efforts when compared with women that were low in connection to traditional African American culture and in which matters of Black identity are not salient. A regression analysis was employed to determine if the addition of acculturation and racial identity would explain more of the variance in coping efforts controlling that afforded by administration format and education. At the first step, administration format and education explained 4% of the variance in total coping efforts. Administration and education were not significant predictors of total coping efforts. At the second step, the CRIS accounted for an additional 15% of the variance in total coping efforts that is significant ($F(8, 96) = 2.536$, $p = .02$). More specifically, the preencounter self-hatred subscale of the CRIS is a significant, positive predictor of total coping efforts ($\beta = .248$, $t = 2.347$, $p = .02$). At the third step, the AAAS explained an additional 1% of the variance in total coping efforts which is significant ($F(9, 96) = 2.394$, $p = .02$). The fully adjusted model is significant, $R^2 = .199$, $p = .02$, however, the AAAS is not a significant, independent predictor of life satisfaction ($\beta = .112$, $t = 1.101$, $p = .27$). Hypothesis Four was not supported. Women in this sample with increased attitudes of racial self-hatred reported increased coping efforts but not women

with internalized identities as hypothesized. In this sample acculturation status did not predict total coping efforts.

Additional Analyses

Although some hypotheses were not supported, further analyses of the data revealed interesting and important relationships. A traditional acculturation status and internalized black identity were not found to be related to social support or life satisfaction but further analysis revealed that an aspect of African American acculturation, Religious Beliefs and Practices, was strongly and positively correlated with life satisfaction ($r=.209$, $p\leq .05$) and total efforts at coping ($r=.304$, $p\leq .01$).

Table 8

Summary of Hypotheses and their Findings

Operational Hypotheses	Findings from the Study
Hypothesis 1A: Traditional acculturation status will be positively correlated with race-related stress	Supported
Hypothesis 1B: Total scores on the IA and IMCI of the CRIS will be positively correlated with race-related stress.	Partially Supported
Hypothesis 1C: Traditional acculturation status and internalized identity predict race-related stress	Supported
Hypothesis 2: Traditional acculturation status and internalized identity will predict increased satisfaction with life.	Not supported
Hypothesis 3A: High levels of perceived social support will be positively correlated with life satisfaction.	Supported
Hypothesis 3B: Women with an internalized identity will report greater life satisfaction	Not Supported
Social support, traditional acculturation status and Internalized identity will predict satisfaction with life.	Not Supported
Hypothesis 4A: Traditional acculturation status will will predict greater efforts at coping.	Not Supported

Table 8 Continued

Summary of Hypotheses and their Findings

Hypothesis 4B: Internalized identity will predict
more frequent efforts at coping

Not Supported

Hypothesis 4C: Traditional acculturation status
will predict increased coping.

Not Supported

Chapter V: Discussion

Introduction

The goal of this study was to explore how adult African American women maintain a sense of life satisfaction in spite of having the lowest social status of any ethnic/gender group. Specifically, this study examined whether African American identity type and level of acculturation to African American culture are predictors of well-being for African American women. The community sample included only women of African American descent. Type of Black identity and level of acculturation to African American culture were hypothesized to affect well-being by increasing the frequency of reported experiences of racist events, type and frequency of reported coping efforts, and the amount of perceived social support reported.

Women reporting greater affiliation with traditional African American culture and valuing of Black ethnicity recorded more race-related stress. In this study, both acculturation toward African American culture and an internalized Black identity were significant, positive predictors of race-related stress. Although these variables were significant positive predictors of race-related stress, these variables were not independent predictors of social support or life satisfaction. African American women with strong self-hatred attitudes made significantly more reports of race-related stress and coping efforts. Black self-hatred was a significant, positive predictor of increased efforts at coping and was strongly and negatively correlated with well-being. Acculturation status proved not to be an independent predictor of the frequency of reported efforts at coping, social support or life satisfaction. However, endorsing traditional African American religious beliefs and practices was strongly and positively correlated with more frequent coping efforts and greater reports of life satisfaction.

Acculturation and Black identity are thought to impact the experience of race-related stress, because acculturation and identity directly affect core beliefs, values and commitments that in turn affect what is appraised as stressful (Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). More traditional African American acculturation status, Internalized Afrocentrism (IA) and an Internalized Multicultural (IMCI) identity were each positively correlated with race-related stress. More traditional African American acculturation status, Internalized Afrocentrism (IA) and an Internalized Multicultural (IMCI) identity were significant, positive predictors of race-related stress. African American women with a greater affiliation toward traditional African American culture were more likely to report experiences of race-related stress. African American women for whom Black identity is important and positively valued reported more frequent experiences of race-related stress, as compared to Black women who accorded Blackness less identity centrality. Acculturation toward African American culture and an internalized Black identity were significant positive predictors of race-related stress.

Empirical Support for Landrine's Theory of African American Acculturation

The present study lends support to Landrine's (1996) theory that a traditional acculturation status increases the likelihood that one will experience more race-related stress, even though a different measure of race-related stress was used in her work. Landrine (1996) found a correlation between orientation toward African American culture and race-related stress. She asserted that because Blacks who maintain a traditional orientation are more culturally different than acculturated Blacks (low in connection to African American culture), they would be the more likely targets of racism and therefore report more stress. Traditional African American socialization includes preparation for encounters with racism as well as instruction and modeling on how one should cope with racism. An awareness of

the existence of racism may increase the likelihood of perceiving racism and a participant's willingness to report it.

Construct Validity for the AAAS

Construct validity for the AAAS was supported because the AAAS and the IA subscale of the CRIS were positively correlated. Higher scores on the AAAS represent greater engagement with traditional African American culture, while IA evidences an identity that is strongly rooted in Black nationalism or a bicultural identity (Cross, 2001). Black nationalists have a strong preference for Black culture and affiliation with other Blacks. The AAAS was not correlated with any other subscales of the CRIS. This supports the conceptualization of acculturation and Black identity as orthogonal variables (Pope-Davis et al, 2000); acculturation is a measure of preferences for what is considered ideal behavior, while identity is a measure of the importance and affective quality that is attached to membership in one's ethnic group.

An internalized Black identity was positively correlated with reports of race-related stress whether Afrocentric or Multicultural oriented. Women with an IA identity emphasized the empowerment of Blacks to the exclusion of other groups while women with an IMCI profess a Black identity that is linked to other oppressed groups. IMCI women with internalized identities are concerned with Blacks and/or all oppressed groups, and this heightens their sensitivity to racism. Acceptance of the Black experience in America necessitates an awareness of the potential to directly or indirectly experience racism. The fact that Blackness is an important part of identity for women with internalized identities increases the likelihood that experiences of racism will be appraised as stressful, because of the importance they place on their Blackness.

Construct Validity for the CRIS

Construct validity for the CRIS was supported because all of the identity types were related to the measure of race-related stress in theoretically consistent ways. Pre-encounter Assimilation (PA), an identity type where the salience of Blackness is very low, was significantly and negatively correlated with reports of race-related stress. Pre-encounter Miseducation (PM) and Pre-encounter Self Hatred (PSH) are not formal identity types but measure internalized oppression that can theoretically be present in any Black identity type. It is normative for Blacks to be exposed to negative stereotypes, although Blacks may or may not develop some feelings of self-hatred in response to exposure to negative information about being Black. Although, PA does not necessarily include miseducation or anti-Black feelings, Cross (2001) postulates that persons holding assimilationist attitudes are at risk of uncritically accepting as fact otherwise miseducation or anti-Black information. For this sample of women, PA attitudes were indeed positively and significantly correlated with both PM and PSH attitudes. Feelings of self-hatred were positively and significantly associated with reports of race-related stress and the same was true for individuals in the Immersion-Emersion phase of Black identity development. PSH was the identity type most strongly correlated with reports of race-related stress.

African American Acculturation, Black Identity and Satisfaction with Life

Theoretically an affiliation toward traditional African American culture coupled with positive feelings about membership in the Black community were expected to increase life satisfaction, by allowing women to incorporate that which they value in their day to day practices. Historically, social support, most notably in the form of church participation and in the maintenance of strong kinship networks, has been a significant buffer against racism and therefore believed to enhance life satisfaction (Comas-Diaz, 1994, Hines & Boyd-

Franklin, 1982). Lastly, women with internalized Black identities are expected to have better defenses for coping with racism, enhanced feelings of belongingness and greater ease in negotiating interracial social interactions (Cross, 2001). However, such theorizing is not supported by the results.

Contrary to what was hypothesized, there was no relationship between African American acculturation, Black identity and satisfaction with life. In this sample, limited variance for African American acculturation and social support may have resulted in the failure to capture the hypothesized relationship between acculturation, Black identity and satisfaction with life. Most women in this sample endorsed significant agreement with an African American cultural frame of reference and also reported very high levels of social support. The vast majority of women in this study were also highly religious, reporting that they were members of a church and attended church on a regular basis. It should be noted that adherence to traditional Religious Beliefs and Practices on the AAAS was positively and significantly correlated with satisfaction with life. This study supports the historical view that Black women with strong religious beliefs experience greater satisfaction with life (Comas-Diaz, 1994; Dana, 1993; Hines and Boyd-Franklin, 1982). Cross (2001) states that strong religious beliefs can help to prevent the development of bitterness about racism. The lack of heterogeneity in this sample with regard to these variables, (acculturation, social support and religious involvement) may have obscured a relationship between acculturation, internalized identity and satisfaction with life. There was a significant negative correlation between Preencounter Self Hatred and satisfaction with life which is consistent with several studies that have found a significant negative correlation between feelings of racial self-hatred and life satisfaction (Cross, 1991).

Traditional Acculturation Status, Internalized Identity, Social Support and Satisfaction with Life

Acculturation status and internalized identity were not predictors of life satisfaction in this sample. However, social support is a significant independent predictor of life satisfaction. This study is consistent with existing literature that demonstrates the role of social support in warding off the negative impact of race-related stress for women (Adou et.al., 2010; Fassinger, Linn, Johnson, Prosser, and Robinson, 1997). In this sample, women generally reported high levels of social support. Generally, participants in this sample were well educated and working and thus more likely to possess the ability to garner social support. Women that have a traditional acculturation status more often rely upon extended family networks and are more likely to share child rearing activities with extended family members (Comas-Diaz, 1994). Women with internalized Black identities experience greater feelings of belonging and affiliation with other Black people (Cross, 2001). Although traditional acculturation status was not predictive of social support or life satisfaction, adherence to more traditional African American religious beliefs and practices was positively and significantly correlated with social support and life satisfaction.

Traditional Acculturation Status, Internalized Identity and Type and Frequency of Coping Efforts

Traditional acculturation status and internalized identity were related to increased reports of race-related stress. Increased exposure to race-related stress was expected to require more frequent coping efforts. In this sample, acculturation status was not a significant predictor of coping, even though a more traditional acculturation status was

correlated with increased reports of race-related stress. Interestingly, reported endorsement of more traditional religious beliefs and practices on the AAAS were positively and significantly related to increased efforts at coping. The CRIS did significantly predict coping efforts. In particular, women with strong attitudes of black self-hatred reported increased efforts at coping. Internalization of negative attitudes about being Black results in feelings of low self-worth that necessitate constant coping to function.

Further Evidence of Construct Validity for the CRIS

Feelings of black self-hatred are positively and significantly correlated with confrontive coping and escape avoidance. An emphasis on Afrocentrism was positively and significantly associated with accepting responsibility and escape avoidance. Lastly, an emphasis on multiculturalism was associated with self-controlling, planful problem solving, and seeking social support but not escape avoidance. Feelings of Black self-hatred are consistently associated with decreased well-being. Hatred is an emotion that often involves strong feelings of aggression that may be acted out against the self or others. This study lends support to the finding of Utsey et. al. (2000) that the use of avoidance as a coping strategy is a significant predictor of lower self-esteem and life satisfaction. This coping strategy is positively associated with feelings of Black self-hatred that are themselves associated with feelings of low self-worth and discomfort. Afrocentrism is often associated with Black nationalism that espouses and emphasizes Black self-reliance and empowerment that often entails an emphasis on the Black community to the exclusion of other groups (escape avoidance) and working for the betterment of the Black community as a whole (accepting responsibility). Multiculturalism involves a concern for all oppressed groups and identification with a variety of oppressed peoples. Identification with all oppressed groups would entail greater openness and exposure to others who are culturally different and thus

require greater self-control and planful problem solving to manage the complexity of interacting in a fruitful manner with diverse groups of people. Those with a multicultural identity emphasize the commonalities across groups of oppressed peoples and emphasize the importance of building bridges between groups of people (social support). These findings lend further support to the construct validity of the CRIS.

Summary Conclusions

The overall purpose of this study was to examine how African American women maintain a sense of life satisfaction in spite of significant challenges that may occur because of their double minority status. There have been increasing calls to move beyond studying Blacks as a monolithic racial group. The results of this study underscore the complexity of Black women and the myriad ways in which they adjust to their devalued social status. Black women remain connected to Black culture in significant ways and racism remains ubiquitous in the experience of Black women in this sample. Strong religious faith and participation in religious communities remain commonplace and a significant source of support and enhanced well-being. On the other hand, a minority in this sample endorsed attitudes of Black self-hatred, resulting in poor satisfaction with life. In spite of exposure to race-related stress, more importantly, most women in this sample were at least somewhat satisfied with their lives and felt well supported despite daily encounters with race-related stress.

The findings of this study underscore the diversity of African American women and the important contributions of Cross with regard to understanding the range of Black identity types. Meaningful differences were found among women that endorsed Assimilationist, Afrocentric or Multicultural identities. Women that were Assimilated reported decreased stress due to racism. However, they also evidenced greater Miseducation and negative feelings about being Black. Women with Afrocentric identities were more

traditional in their acculturation status and they relied upon their own efforts as well as escape and avoidance, perhaps retreating to the Black community, to manage race-related stress. Women holding a Multicultural identity emphasized social support to manage race-related stress. They make a conscious effort to control their own emotions and engage in problem solving to preserve relationships across cultural boundaries. Although, no relationship was found between acculturation, racial identity and life satisfaction, there is evidence that acculturation and racial identity shape the ways in which African American women maintain well-being. These results support a more nuanced view of Black identity that encompasses the diversity that is inherent within the Black community. Black culture remains important in the lives of African American women. Most women in this sample continue to incorporate at least some traditional Black cultural beliefs, values and practices in their day-to-day lives.

Limitations of the Study and Future Research Directions

This study had limitations inherent to the use of a convenience sample. While the use of a community sample represents an improvement over a college sample, when compared to sole reliance upon college students, this sample overrepresented well-educated and middle-to-upper-income African American women. A larger sample size would have also been desirable so that more powerful analyses could have been conducted. Research with a larger sample size would allow for larger numbers of women with Assimilationist, Afrocentric and Multicultural identity types.

Reliance on quantitative, self-report measures also has particular limitations with reference to studying variables that assess underlying psychological mechanisms. Misinterpretation or failing to measure phenomena central to the variables of interest is possible. The dynamic nature of coping is difficult to study with questionnaires alone. The

appraisal of an event as stressful was not measured in this study. It may also be necessary to have women recall a direct experience of stress that involved racism rather than including cultural racism that is less directly experienced. In the future, combining a larger sample size and inviting participants to participate in a semi-structured interview would help to buttress the validity of survey instruments.

A significant weakness in the study involved the failure to measure the participants' relationship to mainstream, American culture and how adjustment is affected by the interaction between acculturation to Black culture, acculturation to mainstream culture and identity. The Black American experience is essentially a bicultural experience that must be accounted for when attempting to understand how Black women maintain well-being. Future research should continue to move toward elucidating more of the variance in terms of life satisfaction by using measures of racial identity and acculturation in a more carefully operationalized manner.

Acculturation, ethnic identity and race-related stress are very complex variables. Mental health professionals need to move away from simple racial categorizations. Research that captures the diversity of the Black experience and how it shapes identity and functioning is critical in the development of a psychology worthy of the twenty-first century. Information regarding acculturation and Black identity types and the way that these variables shape the appraisal and coping with racism are very important for psychologists to embrace. Such knowledge will help clinicians understand their patients more fully and lead to the incorporation of insights regarding race and develop in the design of interventions meant to produce better mental health in Black clients. Lastly, understanding the Black woman's relationship to her own ethnicity will increase patients felt sense of empathy in therapeutic interactions. Measures of acculturation, ethnicity and coping can be used to assist clinicians

in understanding how the individual Black woman characteristically manages race-related stress. With insight, adjustments can be made to increase the flexibility and effectiveness of responses to coping with racism.

Appendix A

Sociocultural and Historical Factors That Shape the Process of African American

Acculturation

Early History of Africans in the English Colonies

African Americans descend from West African nations that formed distinct ethnic-cultural communities characterized by a variety of linguistic, cultural and genetic differences. The majority of Africans brought to North America as slaves descended from Senegambia (13.5%), Sierra Leone (16.6%), Bight of Benin (3.0%), Bight of Biafra (25.6%), and West Central Africa (Congo and Angola, (25.3%)) (Franklin & Moss, 2000; Gomez, 1998; Herskovitz, 1958). The majority of Africans brought to the United States came from West Central Africa and the Bight of Biafra. The total import of Africans to North America is estimated to be 481,000 with 80% of Africans imported to the Americas between 1701 and 1850 (Antsey, 1975; Curtin, 1969; Gomez, 1998; LaChance, 1979; Mildo-Hall, 1992; Rawley, 1981, see calculation by Gomez, p. 301 and 302). Prior to the end of the eighteenth century most slaves disembarked in locations from New England to the Mid-Atlantic because most slaves were needed to farm tobacco, rice and indigo crops (Gomez, 1998).

Slavery in New England (Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island)

In New England, the population of slaves remained minimal. In 1700, the population of Blacks was one thousand out of one hundred thousand by 1776 the population had increased to five thousand two hundred and forty-nine. Blacks never comprised more than 2.5% of the population of New England colonies. For the most part African residents of New England during the colonial period were brought to the area directly from Africa or the West Indies. They generally had much more freedom than slaves in the South and greater opportunities for interaction with Whites. Northern Blacks had

more access to economic opportunity, political participation and freedom of assemblage. Most New England Blacks were not as harshly treated as Blacks in the South from day to day but they were subjected to violence and retribution. An atmosphere of fear affected Blacks and Whites as poisoning, arson, and murder were not uncommon (Miller & Smith, 1988).

Greater relative freedom among Blacks in New England provided greater opportunity for acculturation to European culture as well as more ability to maintain cherished African values and customs. New England Blacks developed parallel African based institutions. They elected their own Black governors that were very respected by Blacks and many Whites. The election of Black governors was accompanied by an Election Day parade and festivities that were major social events. The governor was often a wise elder of excellent character and physical stature. Governors were often of pure African descent. They played an important role in policing affairs and settling disputes within the Black community. In addition, the continuation of African traditions found direct expression in the practice of an Africanized Christianity that emphasized the ring shout and the inclusion of dance in religious services. The ring shout accompanied by dance in a counterclockwise direction often resulted in religious frenzy and elation important from an African perspective for communion with the ancestors and later for communion with the Christian God (Herskovits, 1941/1958; Stuckey, 1987).

Northern Blacks also enhanced their connection with traditional African mores by continuing the African emphasis on cooperation and mutual aid. Numerous benevolent societies, burial aid societies, lodges and fraternal organizations were common in the North. Proper burial and community self-reliance were extremely important thus mirroring traditional West African culture. Throughout New England and the Middle colonies Blacks

developed alley societies on the outskirts of towns where free Black, slaves and White servants freely associated apart from the White majority. There was a strong impetus to maintain an autonomous African based community for refuge and succor (Herskovits, 1941/1958; Miller & Smith, 1988; Stuckey, 1987).

In this country Africans began to have a substantial mixture of the various African, European and Native American genes. Thus, African Americans are a distinct product of the New World rather than direct descendants of any given African group. Paradoxically, African Americans form one of the oldest ethnic groups in the United States, while at the same time they may rightly be considered newer immigrants.

Slavery in the Upper South (Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas)

In 1625 there were 23 Blacks in the colony of Virginia and by 1650 there were three hundred. The population of Africans grew much more rapidly toward the end of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century. By 1756 there were 120,156 Blacks and 173,316 Whites in Virginia with Blacks outnumbering Whites in many communities.

Growing numbers of Blacks in Virginia prompted laws that were designed to control the slaves through keeping them ignorant, fearful and dependent (Franklin & Moss, 2000). Fear was maintained by whipping, branding, hanging, burning at the stake, dismemberment, and castration. Punishment for offenses against Whites was severe, public and swift (Becker, 1999).

A reference to slavery was entered into Virginia law, the law was directed at White servants who ran away with Black servants. In 1662 a Virginia law assumed that Africans would remain slaves for life. An ingenious plan that would allow slave owners to increase their holdings, without cost resulted when in 1662 Virginia passed a statute that stated that “children got by an Englishman upon a Negro woman shall be bond or free according to the

condition of the mother”. This was a reversal of the common law which held that the status of the child was determined by the father. Slaves could now be bred through the Black woman’s body at no cost to the slaveholder. Laws against intermarriage followed in the same year. Several colonial legislatures would enact similar statutes. Frederick Law Olmstead articulated the following strategy in his travels throughout the South: “train the slave to work and yet prevent him from learning to take care of himself.” Although the goal was to make the slave docile, slave uprisings occurred periodically. In 1831, Nat Turner led an uprising that resulted in the death of 60 Whites before it was finally quelled (Franklin & Moss, 2000; Sowell, 1981).

The slave codes of Maryland were heavily influenced by its neighboring colony, Virginia. In 1663, perpetual slavery was made law in Maryland and intermarriage was also prohibited. White women married to Blacks and their children became slaves immediately. The law sought to make all Blacks slaves regardless of their status before 1663. It was not until 1681 that the law was changed so that children of free slaves and of White women would also be recognized as free. Slavery grew at a slow rate initially but by 1750 there were forty thousand Blacks and one hundred thousand Whites in Maryland. In Maryland strict slave codes were maintained primarily due to fears that the slaves would collude with the Catholics and Indians against the British colonists (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

Slavery in the Carolinas was encouraged from the beginning. The Royal African Company (RAC) was issued a charter by the British government. Four of the original colonizers of the Carolinas were also members of the RAC. Slavery quickly proliferated in the Carolinas due to the eagerness of the early colonizers to enhance profits. In 1663, settlers were offered 20 acres of land for each male African brought to the colony or 10 acres of land for each female. Within twenty years of its initial settlement the Black

population in the Carolinas was equal to that of Whites. By 1715, Blacks in the Carolinas outnumbered Whites by a margin of four thousand two hundred and fifty and in 1724 there were three times as many Blacks as Whites (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

The Carolinas were divided into North and South Carolina shortly before the Revolutionary War. South Carolina, prompted by the Haitian Revolution, the large African population and revolts, adopted the most draconian slave codes in the New World. In 1739, the Stono Revolt resulted in the death of thirty Whites and forty-four Blacks. The religious group known as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) condoned slavery based upon religious doctrine while attempting to uplift the lives of Blacks and Whites. The SPG advocated for time for slaves to study Scripture, opened a school for Blacks and in a few cases taught slaves to read and write (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

Some Africans in South Carolina found some measure of independence when allowed to work within a task system of slavery. In the task system, slaves were required to produce a certain amount of work for their master after which time they could work for their own profit. Both gang labor and the task labor system were encountered during slavery in the United States with task labor permitting slaves greater opportunity for entrepreneurship and interaction with Whites and free Blacks. In some cases slaves were allowed to purchase their own property and in some cases even their own freedom. The population of free Blacks in South Carolina would increase from 1,801 in 1790 to 9,914 in 1860 (Miller & Smith, 1988).

The importation of slaves into North Carolina was slow in comparison to the importation of slaves into South Carolina in large part due to North Carolina's very formidable coastline and harbor facilities thus planters and farmers seeking slaves had to obtain slaves from Virginia or South Carolina (Miller & Smith, 1988).

In North Carolina, the Quakers were an influential presence that helped to lessen the negative impact of slavery. The Quakers urged regular meetings for slaves and humane treatment of slaves. As a religious group the Quakers would debate the moral and ethical issues attendant to human enslavement until it was finally banned in 1770. In contrast to South Carolina, North Carolina would maintain a relatively small population of slaves who maintained fairly close contact with Whites on a consistent basis. North Carolina was a colony that was remarkably calm in comparison to other colonies of the pre-Revolutionary War period (Franklin & Moss, 2000). By the time of the Revolutionary War, slaves comprised 25% of North Carolina's population (Miller & Smith, 1988).

Between 1701 and 1775 46% of Africans entered the English colonies through South Carolina while 54% entered at Virginia. One out of every four African Americans had an ancestor that came through the colonial port of Charleston (Higgins, 1976).

The colony of Georgia had a unique history because it was the only colony established directly by the English government in 1733. Georgia differed from the other colonies in significant ways. There were no free land titles granted, no alcoholic beverages were allowed and slavery was not permitted. However, the restrictions were eventually overturned due to pressures from colonists that were increasingly populating the area. Eventually, after a third petition to King George the ban against slavery in Georgia was repealed in 1750. The Black population increased rapidly after this time. By 1760, there were 3,000 Blacks and 6,000 Whites in Georgia. In 1773 the population of Blacks had increased to 15,000 just three thousand less than the population of eighteen thousand Whites. The Georgia slave code was modeled after the South Carolina slave code even though the two colonies had very different histories. Many slaves were re-exported from

South Carolina or they arrived directly from Gambia, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast of Africa (Gomez, 1998; Miller & Smith, 1988).

In Georgia, the acculturation process was slow for many slaves, especially along the coastal areas. Slaves often took part in task labor and were then free to earn their own income. The task labor system also allowed slaves to have greater control over their time and social habits. When possible, slaves sought to avoid contact with Whites due to the dangers inherent to interaction with Whites. Slaves found refuge in socializing with free Blacks in towns, emerging Black churches and fringe Black urban areas (Miller and Smith, 1988). Slaves also had an additional avenue of escape due to the proximity of Georgia to Spanish held Florida (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

Slavery in the Middle Colonies (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware)

The Dutch established a colony on what is now the island of Manhattan in 1613 when they left an African, Jan Rodrigues to begin colonization of the area. Slavery under the Dutch was milder than the type of slavery practiced by the British. The Dutch colony of New Netherland was characterized by a simple slave code where much consideration was given for the personal rights of the slave. The Dutch also granted the slaves half freedom so that they were able to work for wages and farm land in exchange for an annual tax and work obligations. It was not uncommon for slaves to be manumitted after many years of service but the character of slavery would change when the British took over the colony of New Netherland in 1664 (New York Historical Society and the New York Amsterdam News, 2005). The population of slaves would also increase to two thousand one hundred and seventy Blacks in 1698, six thousand one hundred seventy one Blacks in 1723 and nineteen thousand eight hundred and eighty three Blacks in 1771 with a White population of one hundred and sixty-eight thousand and seven. Most slaves were located in New York City.

Blacks in New York frequently agitated against slavery with insurrections and other acts of rebellion not uncommon. Slavery became increasingly unpopular in New York (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

New York was the capital of American slavery for more than two centuries with as many as 20% of colonial New Yorkers enslaved. Only South Carolina rivaled New York in terms of the degree to which slaves penetrated everyday life during colonial times. In 1720, two out of every five homes had at least one slave. The local economy of New York was built around building ships used in the transatlantic slave trade and trading in the products produced by slaves such as sugar, tobacco, indigo, coffee, chocolate and later cotton. Most New York businessmen had investments in the slave trade. Slaves were integral to the functioning of the city with slaves engaged in all forms of housework and providing most of the heavy labor that was vital to the development of the infrastructure of New York City. Some slaves would become skilled craftsmen and artisans. Many slaves in New York were also able to farm and sell food stuffs during their free time. Slaves were able to develop stable families and cultural traditions despite the oppression that they faced (New York Historical Society and the New York Amsterdam News, 2005)

In New Jersey slavery was encouraged by the British and the Black population steadily grew in New Jersey as well. However, the numbers of Blacks in New Jersey would never reach even ten percent of the entire population (Franklin & Moss, 2000; Miller & Smith, 1988).

In Pennsylvania, slavery grew but slavery was never a completely welcome practice for the many Quakers that dominated the colony. In 1751, there were three thousand Blacks. By 1791 there were ten thousand two hundred and seventy four Blacks but the majority of them were free (3,737 slaves; 6,537 free Blacks). There was an early movement

toward manumission of slaves in Pennsylvania and slavery was generally less violent in Pennsylvania. Blacks were able to achieve stable families and communities that included secure homes, churches and schools that were unheard of in other colonies (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

Delaware was a part of Pennsylvania until 1703. After separating from Pennsylvania, Delaware took on characteristics of slavery closer to its Southern neighbors. The number of Blacks in the state increased and Delaware adopted slave codes more in keeping with the Southern colonies (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

Slavery in the middle colonies never developed to the degree that it did in the South because the economy of the middle colonies was primarily a commercial economy with some subsistence agriculture so that the demand for slave labor was never as intense as it was in the South. Many slaves that came through ports in New York and Pennsylvania would eventually be sent further down South. The Europeans that settled the Middle Colonies were often of Dutch, German or Swedish descent and individuals from these ethnic groups preferred doing their own work (Franklin & Moss, 2000). Although, slavery itself was never as prolific in the Middle Colonies as in the South investment in slavery by Northern businessmen reaped huge profits from slavery by providing the shipping, banking and manufacturing necessary to support the processing and eventual sale of goods that originated in the South (Franklin & Moss; Miller & Smith, 1988; New York Historical Society and the Amsterdam News, 2005)

Stratification within the African American community also developed early and was based upon the proportion of European ancestry, occupation under slavery, date of family emancipation and residence (Franklin 2000, Sowell, 1981). All of the aforementioned variables affected the individuals and their progeny. Patterns of stratification initiated in the

seventeenth century continue to be evident in the twenty-first century. Light skinned African Americans; children of the masters and slave women, remain overrepresented among relatively privileged African Americans (Hughes & Hertel, 1990; Sowell, 1981).

The rapid acculturation of the African slaves was accelerated because of practices related to enslavement. African slaves from diverse tribal backgrounds were captured during tribal wars or slave-hunting expeditions. They were herded together on ships to await the arrival of slave ships. During the Middle Passage they were packed onto ships in a spoon like fashion and shipped to the West Indies where they underwent a period of being broken into slavery before being shipped to local plantations or the English colonies on the mainland. They were separated from their fellow tribesman and forced to speak English (Franklin and Moss, 2000; Frazier, 1997). Approximately ten million slaves were shipped to the Western Hemisphere with half of them arriving between 1720 and 1820. One million died en route to the New World. Four hundred thousand slaves would eventually find themselves in slavery in the United States. Other countries imported many more slaves than the United States but the United States was the only country to rely heavily upon reproduction to increase its population of enslaved laborers. In the United States slaves were considered an investment to be maintained for purposes of increasing wealth through continued enslavement of any children born to enslaved parents. The death rates for slaves living in the Caribbean were very high and the birthrates very low. New slaves were constantly shipped to the Caribbean. In the United States slavery was perpetuated with fear and violence but there was also a heavy admixture of ignorance and dependence (Sowell, 1981). This was most evident in the Deep South where Southern society, political power and economic viability was dependent upon the institution of slavery. The master-slave relationship was central to the organization of Southern society. The South became a slave

society rather than a society with slaves that might be a more apt characterization of slavery in the middle colonies or New England (DuBois, 1969; Franklin & Moss, 2000).

The plantations of the lower or Deep South (Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana) were typically large cotton plantations that took on the characteristics of a large industrial organization. The slaves were considered as property in the same manner as one would consider a mule. The treatment of slaves on these plantations was very brutal. In contrast, some plantations functioned as both an economic and social structure under a semi-patriarchal regime. On these plantations the personality of the slaves was taken into account. The lives of masters and slaves were intertwined through a complex system of social rituals that served to maximize intimacy while maintaining complete subordination of the slaves (Frazier, 1997).

The degree of intimacy and hence rapid acculturation of the slaves is often overlooked because of the availability of images of sweeping plantations often portrayed in popular images of slavery. However, the majority of slaves lived and worked on small to medium sized farms. In 1860, 2.7% of southern slave holders owned 50 or more slaves while 0.1% of southern slave holders had 200 or more slaves. Twenty-five percent of southern slaves lived on farms with one to nine slaves; half of southern slaves lived on farms with ten to forty-nine slaves and twenty-five percent lived on farms with more than fifty slaves. The primary exceptions to this pattern existed on the sea coasts of South Carolina and Georgia where very large rice plantations were common. The slaves that lived on small farms worked alongside their master's. They experienced a great deal of intimacy that involved social, cultural and sexual intermixture resulting in lasting commonalities that exist alongside enduring differences (Becker, 1999).

Slaves who worked in their master's homes quickly acquired the habits and speech of their masters. House slaves often received religious and moral instruction and participated in the religious services at their master's churches where a section was reserved for them. Sons of house servants were generally apprenticed to artisans to learn a skilled trade. These house servants and skilled artisans formed a privileged class within slave communities. The field hands had few intimate contacts with Whites and were exposed to more formal social control. The field slaves were only allowed emotional release during religious meetings typically run by Baptist or Methodist missionaries (Frazier, 1997).

Free Blacks

From the beginning of the time that Africans were first brought to the English colonies there were free African Americans. Many Africans earned their freedom in the same manner as European indentured servants. After a period of indenture, usually approximately seven years, the servants became free citizens. In 1790, there were approximately sixty thousand free persons of color. By 1830, there were approximately three hundred thousand free persons of color. Free slaves were born to free parents, purchased their own freedom, or were manumitted by their former masters. Thirty-seven percent of those free persons of color were mulatto while eight percent of slaves were mulatto. Mulattos were primarily the children of relationships between enslaved women and their White masters. There were also more free women than men. These free Blacks had greater opportunity to interact with Whites than did other Africans. They could pursue education, practice a craft, marry and the like – privileges that were denied to slaves. Hence, they tended to be much more acculturated to the larger European based society than were their enslaved brethren. They would form a unique ethnic-cultural subgroup within the larger population of African Americans (Sowell, 1981).

Free Blacks were concentrated primarily in areas where the plantation system did not flourish such as Maryland and Virginia. After the advent of perpetual slavery, many Blacks earned their freedom by working for themselves when their masters permitted and eventually buying their own freedom. Most free Blacks in the South did not live much above subsistence level but a sizable minority was able to accumulate wealth. Charleston, South Carolina and New Orleans, Louisiana were notable regions of the South with a highly visible Black, wealthy class of land owners. These Blacks were most acculturated with family patterns indistinguishable from those of slaveholding Whites. As a group free Blacks of the South were better off economically than free Blacks of the North because they did not have to compete with a large population of European immigrants. At one time free Blacks of the South greatly outnumbered free Blacks of the North. This pattern changed as a result of increasing antislavery activism in the North. At the outbreak of the Civil War nearly half of 500,000 free Blacks lived in the South (Frazier, 1997).

Although free Blacks had greater opportunities for participation in mainstream society their lot in life was often very difficult and their liberty was often tenuous. Whenever, Whites felt threatened they tended to enact harsher laws and free Blacks were often easy targets for increased harassment and abuse. For example, after the Haitian Revolution and slave revolts such as the Stono Revolt in 1739, laws were passed to make it more difficult for slaves to purchase their freedom, masters to manumit slaves and the freedoms granted to free Blacks were also curtailed. Free Blacks were also susceptible to forcible re-enslavement by kidnapping and sale back into slavery. Although some authors (Frazier, 1997; Sowell, 1981) have emphasized the separation between free and enslaved Blacks, upon closer inspection of more direct sources, it would seem that the line between freedom and slavery was not so distinct. Freed Blacks maintained regular contact with their

enslaved brethren and the threat of re-enslavement remained omnipresent. Runaway slaves were also frequently integrated in communities of free Blacks (Miller & Smith, 1988; Public Broadcasting Service, 1998; Stuckey, 1987).

In the years prior to the War of Independence through the years immediately following the Revolutionary War many slaves were manumitted due to the influence of rhetoric associated with the Independence and Abolitionist Movements. Ambivalence regarding slavery coincided with a decline in the demand for tobacco and a move toward mixed farming. Ten thousand slaves were manumitted in Virginia and Maryland between 1782 and 1790. The move away from reliance upon tobacco farming allowed Blacks in the Upper South greater avenues for economic development and independence. It was not uncommon for slaves in Virginia to work closely with their masters on large farms with few other slaves. In addition, a significant number of Virginia slaves were involved in industries which permitted greater autonomy and travel. Virginia remained unique as a slave state because 1) slaves never outnumbered Whites 2) the chief industries were tobacco and grain as opposed to cotton 3) most Blacks in Virginia had very close ties to White families (Miller & Smith, 1988; Public Broadcasting Service, 1998).

At the time of the Revolutionary War, Virginia contained almost half of the Black population of the United States. The invention of the cotton gin, westward expansion of the population and the Haitian Revolution would forestall any hopes of greater freedom for the slaves. The booming Southern economy of the 1780's and 1790's fueled and increased demand for cotton resulting in the movement of slaves South and Westward. Many slave families were torn apart to meet the increased need for labor to work the cotton fields. Manumissions decreased and opportunities for slaves to buy their freedom decreased (Miller & Smith, 1988, Public Broadcasting Service, 1998).

Slavery during the Antebellum Period (1790-1860)

Between 1790 and 1810 100,000 slaves moved from the Chesapeake Bay Area to the South and West. Slave owners that had previously concentrated on the sale of tobacco made huge profits by selling their slaves westward. There was also widespread kidnapping of free Blacks to sell them into slavery. In 1801 there were 900,000 slaves in the United States by 1830 there were over 2 million slaves in the United States. The demand for cotton in Europe continued to increase the demand for slaves in existing cotton producing states and the newly admitted states of Louisiana (1812), Mississippi (1817), and Alabama (1819) (Miller & Smith, 1988; Public Broadcasting Service, 1998).

The selling of slaves westward was traumatic for thousands of slave families that experienced separation and loss of loved ones. The demand for slaves and consequent profitability of their sale overrode any sense of loyalty or recognition of familial bonds among the slaves. With the end of the international slave trade in 1808, demand for slaves was only heightened. Gradual abolition of slavery occurred in seven of the original thirteen colonies (Pennsylvania, Maryland, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Hampshire and New Jersey) while it became more entrenched in the Southern states (Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia). The number of free Blacks continued to grow throughout the antebellum period. Although slavery was entrenched in the South, 75% of White southerners did not own slaves and the vast majority of slave owners owned less than twenty slaves (Gomez, 1998; Herskovits, 1941/1958; Public Broadcasting Service, 1998).

Repression of those of African descent in the South became more severe during the decade before the Civil War (DuBois, 1969; Jones, 1973). The slaves continued to escape to the North in increasing numbers whenever possible. The work of daring individuals such as Harriet Tubman and constant agitation on the part of both Black and White abolitionists

held out the possibility of freedom for the determined slave. Slaves that escaped frequently joined the abolition movement and lent urgency to the demand to end slavery (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

The significant number of slaves escaping from bondage placed the Southern planters at increased risk for loss of profit and control. Southern laws, slavery in the border states and cruelty and violence against slaves became more commonplace as the planters became more desperate to preserve an agrarian economy rooted in slave labor. Although most Northerners were not personally committed to ending slavery in the South they were concerned about preservation of the Union. The fate of Blacks was not the concern of Northern or Southern Whites. Conflict rooted in the Northern financiers' determination to move toward an industrialized economy versus the Southern planter's rigid adherence to an agrarian, slave based economy erupted in the Civil War (DuBois, 1962; Franklin & Moss, 2000; Jones, 1973).

With the advent of the Civil War, slaves began to leave their master's farms and plantations. This exodus continued as the war progressed. The freedmen's immediate preoccupation included finding loved ones long ago separated, obtaining land for food, independence and shelter and gaining an education. Four million slaves were officially emancipated on January 1, 1863. By the end of the Civil War there were 186,000 Black soldiers enlisted in the Union army. For the freedmen, ownership of land to ensure autonomy and self-sufficiency along with educational attainment were two highly cherished values (Franklin & Moss, 2000).

After the Civil War, the Republican Congress promised freedom for the newly freed slaves by providing protection by the Union Army. The Congress amended the federal constitution to provide a legal basis for Black citizenship by passing the Thirteenth

amendment that abolished slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment that made the former slaves citizens; and the Fifteenth Amendment forbidding restrictions upon the slaves rights as a citizen on the basis of race or his former status as a slave (Franklin, 2000, Frazier, 1997 and Sowell, 1981).

Reconstruction

The masses of freedmen were illiterate and impoverished. Some freedmen wandered the South looking for work while others attached themselves to Union armies hoping for support and protection. Chaos ensued on a national level following the Civil War and corruption resulted from the ensuing confusion and profiteering that coincided with attempts to rebuild the South and integrate four million formerly enslaved persons. The Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, commonly known as the Freedmen's Bureau, was established in 1865 to assist the freedmen but as soon as the war ended there were forces at play that threatened to push the freedmen back into a position of forced labor. In the two years following the end of slavery, planters sought to re-establish White rule and force the freedmen to return to a dependent form of labor. Black Codes very similar to the slave codes were instated to annul rights granted to the freedmen with the passage of the 14th and 15th amendments. For the most part lands confiscated during the Civil War were returned to planters. Planters were largely successful in reestablishing their Cotton Kingdom. By 1870 the production of cotton, sugar, rice, corn and live-stock were at pre-Civil War levels (DuBois, 1962; Foner, 1982).

Former abolitionists, liberal Whites and educated Blacks migrated south to assist the newly freed ex-slaves. In addition to the Freedmen's Bureau, many private, religious and fraternal organizations were developed by the freedmen to help promote self-sufficiency and mutual aid. The re-establishment of White rule was opposed by anti-slavery forces,

Northern industrialists and the freedmen themselves. The interests of wealthy Northern industrialists and Republican politicians sympathetic to the freedmen and committed to industrialization ushered in the formal era of Reconstruction with the passage of the Reconstruction Act of 1867. Genuine concern for the freedmen was not the central factor fueling the actions of the Federal government and other powerful persons but as with the spread of slavery, the opportunity to obtain wealth, this time associated with the Industrial Revolution, was the motivating factor that drove policy during Reconstruction (DuBois, 1962; Foner, 1982; Franklin & Moss, 2000)

In the decade following the Civil War, Blacks did progress in education and some obtained small parcels of land from the government. A system of public education was established in the South, many ex-slaves were provided with medical care by the Freedmen's Bureau and Blacks also obtained some ability to participate in the political process. Blacks participated in state and federal governments at unprecedented levels and helped to re-write the constitutions of several states. A small class of leaders emerged from Blacks freed before emancipation, ex-soldiers, religious leaders and those individuals literate with some education. Much emphasis was placed on industry, thrift, piety and education. Local Whites generally resented freedmen and having to pay taxes to support public institutions that would provide an opportunity for them to participate in the larger society (DuBois, 1962; Franklin and Moss, 2000).

Reconstruction was generally not successful in providing for the equality and rights of the freedmen. The ability of the freedmen to maintain any gains made during Reconstruction was not permanent because of the failure of the government to provide the freedmen with land that would have enabled them to be self sufficient. A system of sharecropping developed where Black farmers worked the land of typically White owners in

exchange for shelter and provisions. Sharecroppers in essence received a credit in food, shelter and minimal provisions against their labor that made it very difficult for them to accrue capital. Those Blacks that possessed skilled labor were most often unable to join trade unions that would allow them to earn a living. With the demise of the Freedmen's Bureau and the rise of the Ku Klux Klan the freedmen were extremely vulnerable to Whites that were angry about increased taxation and sharing power with former slaves. Failure of the Freedmen's Bank that at one time held as much 57,000,000 in deposits from the ex-slaves did much to undermine the confidence of the freedmen in the federal government. Terror, violence and the Black codes were used to force the freedmen back into a subservient position (DuBois, 1962; Franklin & Moss, 2000).

Black Migration Post-Reconstruction

The experience of Blacks during Reconstruction shaped their acculturation process and well-being. Contrary to the dominant assertion that Blacks were essentially devoid of culture or retention of African influence the very long history of exclusion of persons of African descent from full participation in mainstream society lends itself to an acknowledgment of the importance of African American culture and community in the lives of individual African Americans and their development as a unique ethnic-cultural group. The history of African Americans shows a continuous struggle for self definition and access to economic and political participation. In addition, the desire on the part of Blacks to maintain connection with their community allowed them to have access to an integral part of their physical, mental and spiritual well-being as well as intimate knowledge of the beauty and strength of their own culture so necessary for the maintenance of well-being in spite of exposure to frequent cruelty and oppression. The most vital support for the ordinary Black person came from family, church and the community comprised of its own organizations for

aid. Foner (1982) states that the modern Black family and community emerged from the Reconstruction Period. Indeed it was the freedom that permitted the choice of mate and marriage and the proliferation of Black churches, benevolent societies and fraternal organizations that enabled Blacks to survive the brutality of the South that followed the end of Reconstruction and the next seventy years (Foner, 1982).

The repression and dismal conditions of the post-Reconstruction South led to several periods of significant migration from the South prior to World War I. Between 1865 and 1875 small numbers of Blacks had left the South to pursue greater opportunities in the West that coincided with the development of the railways. In 1879 between 5,000 and 10,000 Blacks moved to Kansas but word of the hardships endured during the winter quelled further migration. Between 1890 and 1910 the westward march continued with many Southern Blacks moving to the Oklahoma territory and establishing as many as twenty-five independent Black communities (Hawkins, 1973). By 1900, 89.7% of African Americans still lived in the rural South and 83% of these Blacks were sharecroppers growing cotton as the chief crop (Jones, 1973).

Continued migration of Blacks from the South resulted from both push and pull factors. Factors pushing Blacks to leave the South were economic, political and social oppression in the form of Jim Crow laws, deprivation of civil rights, inferior schools and an inability to earn a living wage from farming very poor quality land. The destruction of crops by the boll weevil, lynchings, and poor housing were all factors making migration desirable. Factors pulling Blacks away to the North were the news of plentiful jobs with higher wages, strong encouragement from the Black press, better housing and schools and greater political freedom. Serious labor shortages due to the curtailment of European immigration and

World War I provided the opportunities for wages above subsistence level that Blacks needed to leave the South (Hawkins, 1973; Jones, 1973).

The date of emancipation from slavery may be an important mediating variable in terms of individual African American acculturation. Individuals who were freed earlier became acculturated more rapidly than individuals who were freed via the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 because those African Americans free before 1863 had the opportunity to attain literacy, own property, and achieve professional status much earlier than did African Americans who remained enslaved until after the Civil War. Free African Americans were also more urbanized and tended to move out of the South toward the Northeast. These freed African Americans often assumed leadership roles speaking for the masses of African Americans while remaining apart from the masses in everyday life. Ambivalence best characterized the relationship between the African American leadership and the masses of common persons. Black leaders frequently had limited contact with the masses that they strove to lead. (Sowell, 1981; Stuckey, 1987).

As with other ethnic-cultural groups in the United States, the timing of migration proves important for the understanding of African American acculturation and the diversity of African Americans as an ethnic-cultural group. The date of migration out of the South and to the North, seems to be of primary importance. As previously stated, freed African Americans tended to migrate toward the Northeast. In 1910, approximately ninety-percent of African-Americans lived in the South (Ruiz, 1990). However, among African Americans freed during the antebellum period, fifty percent lived in the South and fifty percent lived in the North. African Americans living in the Northeast coexisted in relative tranquility with Whites until the second decade of the twentieth century. By the end of the nineteenth century Northern African Americans lived in integrated neighborhoods with no

neighborhood in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia or Detroit being more than fifty percent African-American. Northern, urban African Americans had greater access to public accommodations, professional occupations, voting and more diverse social roles. This trend would be reversed in the second decade of the twentieth century when the masses of poor, Southern African Americans arrived in Northern cities (Franklin 2000; Sowell, 1981).

The new arrivals from the South tended to be young and male. They were denounced by middle class African Americans and Whites alike. Rigid segregation arose and the Ku Klux Klan became a presence in Northern cities for the first time. It was at this time that the Black ghettos emerged for the first time. More than three-quarters of a million African Americans left the South during the 1920's. There was a pause due to the Great Depression in the 1930's. In the 1940's and 1950's more than two million Blacks left the South with the greatest exodus occurring during the 1940's and significant migration continuing through the 1960's (Jones, 1973). This migration is as of great or greater magnitude than the great international migrations (Sowell, 1981).

Although the cities provided the new Black migrant with greater political, educational and employment opportunities, urban life also exacted a heavy toll. Blacks found themselves in the poorest neighborhoods with dilapidated and overcrowded housing. Ghettos developed in part because the new arrivals often came to live with family and friends and also because Blacks were not allowed to rent or buy in more desirable sections of the city. Considerable familial and cultural disorganization ensued. Traditional social controls operating through the church, lodges and frequent communication among community members in the form of gossip were lost. Respect for friends and social customs disintegrated. Parents frequently lost control of youth resulting in delinquency (Jones, 1973). The costs of losing a coherent cultural system are seldom accounted for when

the progress of the Black community, or lack thereof, is considered. The price of a lack of familiarity with African American culture is especially keen if the individual is not well educated or wealthy. Although Blacks made progress as a group in the 1960's and 1970's it is very clear that they have not fared as well as other ethnic minorities.

Continued Segregation and Lack of Access to Mainstream Societal Institutions

Economic growth for the Black community began to stagnate in the 1980's (Farley, 1987). Inequality related to race is a persistent fact of life in American society regardless of the individual's education. Residential and occupational segregation are the norm in American society rather than the exception (Farley, 1987; Ovadia, 2003). Most Blacks, including middle class Blacks live in highly segregated neighborhoods even when they might prefer an integrated neighborhood. Blacks have a more difficult time converting human capital, such as income and education, into residential affluence (Adelman, 2005).

As of 1990, sixty percent of African Americans lived in urban areas (Ruiz, 1990). As of 2000, fifty-four percent of African Americans lived in the South, nineteen percent lived in the Midwest, eighteen percent lived in the Northeast and ten percent lived in the West. The African American population remains highly segregated. For example, sixty-four percent of all counties in the United States had a population of fewer than six percent African American. In contrast, ninety-six counties had African American populations of over fifty percent of the total county population. Generally, these counties were non-metropolitan with the exception of Prince Georges' County Maryland. The only county outside of the South where the population of African Americans exceeded fifty percent was St. Louis, Missouri (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 2000).

The great migrations of African Americans which took place during the period of the 1940's and 1950's are seldom taken into account when understanding the development

and well-being of African American individuals or culture even though it is apparent that the timing of migration had an impact upon several important aspects of African American life. Individuals who descend from families that have had residence in the Northeast prior to 1910 should as a group be more acculturated than individuals who remain in the South or are more recent migrants to the North. However, no matter what the level of acculturation to the dominant society, the majority of African American individuals experience exclusion from the mainstream on some level. Therefore, even in 2011, many Blacks continue to face additional stress due to racism and cultural difference. Although significant gains in terms of political and educational access resulted from changes in federal laws after the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans have failed as a group to attain social and economic equity with European Americans. Their progress when measured with social indices such as wealth, income, housing attainment and physical and mental health also lag behind other ethnic groups such as Hispanics and Asians even when factors such as education and income are controlled (Adelman, 2005; U. S. Bureau of the Census, 2003).

The majority of African Americans live in the South (55%) and African Americans are more likely to live in large metropolitan cities. Eighteen percent of African Americans live in the Northeast and Midwest respectively while nine percent live in the West. (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 2003). The majority of African Americans live in segregated neighborhoods (Ovadia, 2003). African Americans have higher unemployment rates than Whites and when employed are much more likely to work in service occupations and/or industries that rely upon unskilled labor. Twenty-five percent of African Americans have incomes below the poverty line and single parent households headed by African American women have especially high rates of poverty (35%) that is in significant part related to low rates of marriage (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 2003).

The sociohistorical facts support the distinct nature of African American culture and the ongoing importance of the African American community for most African Americans. Although we find evidence of progress, in significant ways African Americans remain excluded. It may be possible for some African Americans to deny the significance of their Blackness but for most this is not tenable. Knowledge of African American culture and maintenance of ties to the African American community will enrich the lives of most African Americans, especially African American women. Familiarity with African American culture may also allow individuals to make meaning of painful experiences related to racism and allow for the development of effective coping mechanisms as well as maintenance of buffers to attenuate the negative impact of racism (Sellers & Shelton, 2003). Full access to all that American society has to offer remains a dream for the majority of African Americans. The need for nurturing and the availability of support from the community may strongly contribute to the health and well-being for most African American women.

Appendix B

The African American Women's Wellness Project

Dear Participant,

I am a doctoral student in the Clinical Psychology Program at the Graduate School and University Center of the City University of New York. I am currently working on my dissertation. My research is an attempt to understand how African American women's feelings and attitudes about culture and identity affect their well-being. Some women may feel discomfort in thinking about certain aspects of their experience as African American women. It is hoped that by obtaining the opinions of a large number of diverse African American women that psychologists might learn more about how African American women cope with stress and therefore maintain well-being. This information may be used to help psychologists become more effective in their work.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Refusing to participate or discontinue participation in this study will result in absolutely no penalty. Any participant is free to withdraw or discontinue participation at anytime.

I am looking for adult African American women to participate in this study. Participants will be asked to complete an information sheet and some questionnaires. These will take approximately sixty minutes to fill out. Participants will be kept anonymous. **Please do not provide your name or any other identifying information on any of your responses.** The results of the study will be reported only for groups of participants, never individuals. All responses will be maintained in a locked cabinet only accessible by the principal investigator or faculty sponsors. All responses provided on line will be securely encrypted to optimize secure storage and transmission of data.

If you have any questions or comments about your participation in the study or the content of the study please contact the principal investigator at: sjackson@gc.cuny.edu or Dr. Peter Fraenkel, Faculty Advisor at (212)650-5671. If you have any questions concerning your rights as a participant in this study, **contact Lissy Wassaff, IRB Administrator at (212)650-7902.**

Thank you so much for your essential and valued participation.

Sincerely,

S. D. Jackson, M. A., L. M. H. C.
Principal Investigator
Graduate School and University Center
of The City University of New York
Subprogram, Clinical Psychology
North Academic Center, 8th Floor
137th & Convent Streets
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Appendix C

The African American Women's Wellness Project
Information Sheet

1. Age _____
2. Marital Status (Choose One)

Single/Never Married	
Single/Separated	_____
Single/Divorced	_____
Married	_____
If yes, how many years	_____
Widowed	_____
If yes, how many years	_____
3. Do you have any children? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how many
Ages _____

4. Birthplace _____
5. I spent most of my childhood living in _____
 City/State/Country
 Years ____ to ____
6. I presently live in _____
 City/State/Country
 Years ____ to ____
7. At present my household is composed of: _____

8. My parents were born in

Mo	_____
Fa	_____
9. My maternal grandparents were born in

Appendix C Continued

MGM _____
 MGF _____

10. My paternal grandparents were born in

PGM _____

PGF _____

11. Do you know of any of your ancestors who were born in a country other than the United States or Africa? Yes _____ No _____

12. If yes, what country and which family member _____.

13. I would describe my ethnicity as _____.

14. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
 (Please choose one answer.)

Elementary	School	Bachelor's	Degree
Middle	School	Master's	Degree
High School	_____	Doctoral Degree	_____

15. If employed, what is present occupation? _____

Parent's Occupations MO _____

FA _____

16. Your Annual Income _____

17. Religious Affiliation _____

18. I am a member of a church or spiritual community? Yes _____ No _____

19. I attend a church or mosque
 Seldom _____ Frequently _____ Occasionally _____
 Never _____

20. I would describe my skin color as (choose one)

Light _____
 Medium _____
 Dark _____

Appendix D

Beliefs and Attitudes Survey

Instructions: Please tell us how much you personally agree or disagree with the beliefs and attitudes listed below by circling a number. There is no right or wrong answer. We want your honest opinion.

I Totally Disagree Not At All True	I Sort of Agree Sort of True	I Strongly Agree Absolutely True
1 2	3 4	5 6 7

1. One or more of my relatives knows how to do hair.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 2. When I was young, my parent(s) sent me to stay with a relative (aunt, uncle, grandmother) for a few days or weeks, and then I went back home again.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 3. When I was young, I shared a bed at night with my sister, brother, or some other relative.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 4. When I was young, my cousin, aunt, grandmother, or other relative lived with me and my family for a while.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 5. When I was young, my mother or grandmother was the “real” head of the family.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 6. When I was young, I took a bath with my sister, brother or some other relative.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 7. Old people are wise.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 8. I often lend money or give other types of support to members of my family.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 9. It is better to try to move your whole family ahead in this world than it is to be out for only yourself.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 10. A child should not be allowed to call a grown woman by her first name, “Alice.” The child should be taught to call her “Miss Alice.”
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 11. It is best for infants to sleep with their mothers.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 12. Some members of my family play the numbers.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 13. I know how to play bid whist.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 14. Most of my friends are Black.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 15. I feel more comfortable around Blacks than around Whites.
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
-

I Totally Disagree Not At All True	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	I Sort of Agree Sort of True	Strongly Agree Absolutely True
16.	I listen to Black radio stations								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
17.	I try to watch all the Black shows on TV.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
18.	I read (or used to read) <i>Essence</i> or <i>Ebony</i> magazine.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
19.	Most of the music I listen to is by Black artists.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
20.	I like Black music more than White music.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
21.	The person I admire most is Black.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
22.	When I pass a Black person (a stranger) on the street, I always say hello or nod at them.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
23.	I read (or used to read) <i>Jet</i> magazine.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
24.	I usually add salt to my food to make it taste better.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
25.	I know how long you're supposed to cook collard greens.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
26.	I save grease from cooking to use it again later.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
27.	I know how to cook chit'lins.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
28.	I eat grits once in awhile.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
29.	I eat a lot of fried food.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
30.	Sometimes I eat collard greens								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
31.	Sometimes I cook ham hocks.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
32.	People say I eat too much salt.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
33.	I eat chit'lins once in awhile.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
34.	Most tests (like the SATs and tests to get a job) are set up to make sure that Blacks don't get high scores on them.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								
35.	Deep in their hearts, most White people are racists.								
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7								

	I Totally Disagree			I Sort of Agree		Strongly Agree	
	Not At All True			Sort of True		Absolutely True	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36.	IQ tests were set up purposefully to discriminate against Black people.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37.	Whites don't understand Blacks.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38.	Some members of my family hate or distrust White people.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39.	I don't trust most White people.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40.	Most Whites are afraid of Blacks						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41.	There are many types of blood, such as "high", "low", "thin" and "bad" blood.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42.	I was taught that you shouldn't take a bath and then go outside.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43.	Illnesses can be classified as natural types, and unnatural types.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44.	I believe that some people know how to use voodoo.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45.	Some people in my family know how to use epsom salts.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46.	I know what "falling out" means.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47.	Some old Black women/ladies know how to cure diseases.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48.	Some older Black women know a lot about pregnancy and childbirth.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49.	Prayer can cure disease.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50.	I have seen people "fall out."						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51.	If doctors can't cure you, you should try going to a root doctor or to your minister.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52.	I have "fallen out".						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53.	I believe in heaven and hell.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54.	I like gospel music.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55.	The church is the heart of the Black community.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56.	I am currently a member of a Black church.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

I Totally Disagree	I Sort of Agree					I Strongly Agree	
Not At All True	Sort of True					Absolutely True	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
57.	I have seen people “get the spirit” or speak in tongues.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
58.	I believe in the Holy Ghost.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59.	I went to a mostly Black elementary school.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60.	When I was young, I was a member of a Black church.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
61.	I grew up in a mostly Black neighborhood.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
62.	The biggest insult is an insult to your mother.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
63.	I went to (or go to) a mostly Black high school.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
64.	Dancing was an important part of my childhood.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
65.	I used to sing in the church choir.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
66.	When I was a child, I used to play tonk.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
67.	When I was young, I used to jump double-dutch.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
68.	I currently live in a mostly Black neighborhood.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
69.	I used to like to watch “Soul Train”.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
70.	What goes around comes around.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
71.	There’s some truth to many old superstitions.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
72.	I avoid splitting a pole.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
73.	When the palm of your hand itches, you’ll receive some money.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
74.	I eat Black-eyed peas on New Year’s Eve.						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	

Appendix E

Cross Social Attitude Scale

Beverly J. Vandiver, William E. Cross, Jr., Peony. E. Fhagen-Smith, Frank C. Worrell, Janet K. Swim & Leon D. Caldwell

Instructions: Read each item and indicate to what degree it reflects your own thoughts and feelings, using the 7-point scale below. There are no right or wrong answers. Base your responses on your opinion at the present time. **To ensure that your answers can be used, please respond to the statements as written,** and place your numerical response on the line provided to the left of each question.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Agree nor Disagree	Neither Agree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

- _____ 1. As an African American, life in America is good for me.
- _____ 2. I think of myself primarily as an American, and seldom as a member of a racial group.
- _____ 3. Too many Blacks “glamorize” the drug trade and fail to see opportunities that don’t involve crime.
- _____ 4. I go through periods when I am down on myself because I am Black.
- _____ 5. As a multiculturalist, I am connected to many groups (Hispanic, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)
- _____ 6. I have a strong feeling of hatred and disdain for all White people.
- _____ 7. I see and think about things from an Afrocentric perspective.
- _____ 8. When I walk into a room, I always take note of the racial make-up of the people around me.
- _____ 9. I am not so much a member of a racial group, as I am an American.
- _____ 10. I sometimes struggle with negative feelings about being Black.
- _____ 11. My relationship with God plays an important role in my life.
- _____ 12. Blacks place more emphasis on having a good time than on hard work.
- _____ 13. I believe that only those Black people who accept an Afrocentric perspective can truly solve the race problem in America.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree		Neither Agree nor Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Strongly Agree

- ____ 14. I hate the White community and all that it represents.
- ____ 15. When I have a chance to make a new friend, issues of race and ethnicity seldom play a role in who that person might be.
- ____ 16. I believe it is important to have both a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, which s inclusive of everyone (e.g. Asians, Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Whites, etc.).
- ____ 17. When I look in the mirror at my Black image, sometimes I do not feel good about what I see.
- ____ 18. If I had to put a label on my identity, it would be “American” not African American.
- ____ 19. When I read the newspaper or a magazine, I always look for articles and stories that deal with race and ethnic issues.
- ____ 20. Many African Americans are too lazy to see opportunities that are right in front of them.
- ____ 21. As far as I am concerned, affirmative action will be needed for a long time.
- ____ 22. Black people cannot truly be free until our daily lives are guided by Afrocentric values and principles.
- ____ 23. White people should be destroyed.
- ____ 24. I embrace my own Black identity, but I also respect and celebrate the cultural identities of other groups (e. g., Native Americans, Whites, Latinos, Jews, Asian Americans, gays & lesbians, etc.)
- ____ 25. Privately, I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
- ____ 26. If I had to put myself into categories, first I would say I am an American, and second I am a member of a racial group.

- ____27. My feelings and thoughts about God are very important to me.
- ____28. African Americans are too quick to turn to crime to solve their problems.
- ____29. When I have a chance to decorate a room, I tend to select pictures, posters, or works of art that express strong racial-cultural themes.
- ____30. I hate White people.
- ____31. I respect the ideas that other Black people hold, but I believe that the best way to solve our problems is to think Afrocentrically.
- ____32. When I vote in an election, the first thing I think about is the candidate's record on racial and cultural issues.
- ____33. I believe it is important to have a Black identity and a multicultural perspective, because this connects me to other groups (Hispanics, Asian-Americans, Whites, Jews, gays & lesbians, etc.)
- ____34. I have developed an identity that stresses my experiences as an American more than my experiences as a member of a racial group.
- ____35. During a typical week in my life, I think about racial and cultural issues many, many times.
- ____36. Blacks place too much importance on racial protest and not enough on hard work and education.
- ____37. Black people will never be free until we embrace an Afrocentric perspective.
- ____38. My negative feelings toward White people are intense.
- ____39. I sometimes have negative feelings about being Black.
- ____40. As a multiculturalist, it is important for me to be connected with individuals from all cultural backgrounds (Latinos, gays & lesbians, Jews, Native Americans, Asian Americans, etc.).

Appendix F

Index of Race-related stress (IRRS)
(Utsey & Ponterotto, 1996)

This survey questionnaire is intended to sample some of the experiences that Black people have in this country because of their “Blackness.” There are many experiences that a Black person can have in this country because of his/her race. Some events happen just once, some more often, while others may happen frequently. Below you will find some these experiences for which you indicate those that have happened to you or someone very close to you. **Please circle the number on the scale (0 to 4) that indicates the reaction you had to the event at the time it happened. Do not leave any items blank.** If an event has happened more than once refer to the first time it happened. **If an event did not happen circle 0 and go on to the next item.**

KEY

- 0=This has never happened to me.
 1=This event happened, but did not bother me.
 2=This event happened & I was slightly upset.
 3=This event happened & I was upset.
 4=This event happened & I was extremely upset.

1. You have been in a restaurant or other White/non-Black establishment where everyone was waited on before you. 0 1 2 3 4

2. You notice that crimes committed by White people tend to be romanticized, whereas the same crime committed by a Black person is portrayed as savagery, and the Black person who committed it, as an animal 0 1 2 3 4

3. You notice that when a Black person is killed by a White mob or policeman no one is sent to jail. 0 1 2 3 4

4. You have been followed by security (or employees) while shopping in some stores. 0 1 2 3 4

5. Sales people/clerks did not say thank you or show other forms of courtesy and respect (i.e. put your things in a bag when you shopped at some White/non-Black owned businesses). 0 1 2 3 4

6. White people or other non-Blacks have treated you as if you were unintelligent and needed things explained to you slowly or numerous times. 0 1 2 3 4

7. You have been questioned about your presence in a White neighborhood for no apparent reason . 0 1 2 3 4

- 0=This has never happened to me.
 1=This event happened, but did not bother me.
 2=This event happened & I was slightly upset.
 3=This event happened & I was upset.
 4=This event happened & I was extremely upset.

8. You notice that when Black people are killed by the police the media informs the public of the victims criminal record or negative information in their background, suggesting they got what they deserved.

0 1 2 3 4

9. Whites/non-Blacks have failed to apologize for stepping on your foot or bumping into you.

0 1 2 3 4

10. You have been threatened with physical violence by an individual or group of White/non-Blacks.

0 1 2 3 4

11. You were physically attacked by an individual or group of White/non-Blacks.

0 1 2 3 4

12. You did not receive a promotion you deserved; you suspect it was because you are Black.

0 1 2 3 4

13. You have observed that White kids who commit violent crimes are portrayed as “boys being boys”, while Black kids who commit similar crimes are wild animals.

0 1 2 3 4

14. You have had trouble getting a cab to go certain places or even stop for you.

0 1 2 3 4

15. You seldom hear or read anything positive about Black people on radio, T. V., newspapers or in history books.

0 1 2 3 4

16. While on public transportation or in public place White people/non-Blacks have opted to stand up rather than sit next to you.

0 1 2 3 4

17. Although waiting in line first, you were assisted after the White/non-Black person behind you.

0 1 2 3 4

18. White people have expected you to denounce or reject the views or remarks of controversial Black leaders.

0 1 2 3 4

19. You did not get the job you applied for although you were well qualified; you suspect because you are Black.

0 1 2 3 4

20. You were refused an apartment or other housing; you suspect it was because you are Black.

0 1 2 3 4

- 0=This has never happened to me.
- 1=This event happened, but did not bother me.
- 2=This event happened & I was slightly upset.
- 3=This event happened & I was upset.
- 4=This event happened & I was extremely upset.

21. You have observed a double standard in the way the law or other systems of government (court, media, disciplinary committees, etc.) work (or don't work) when dealing with Blacks as opposed to Whites/non-Blacks.

0 1 2 3 4

22. While shopping at a store the sales clerk assumed that you couldn't afford certain items (i.e. directed you to the items on sale).

0 1 2 3 4

23. White/non-Black people have been apologetic about the Japanese internment, Jewish holocaust, and other violations of human rights, but would prefer to forget about slavery, Jim Crowism, and other abuses of Black people.

0 1 2 3 4

24. You were treated with less respect and courtesy than Whites and other non-Blacks while in a store, restaurant, or other business establishment.

0 1 2 3 4

25. You were the victim of a crime and the police treated you as if you should just accept it as part of being Black.

0 1 2 3 4

26. You were passed over for an important project although you were more qualified and competent than the White/non-Black person given the task.

0 1 2 3 4

27. Whites/non-Blacks have stared at you as if you didn't belong in the same place with them; whether it was a restaurant, theater, or other place of business.

0 1 2 3 4

28. You called the police for assistance and when they arrived they treated you like a criminal.

0 1 2 3 4

29. You have observed the police treat White/non-Blacks with more respect and dignity than they do Blacks.

0 1 2 3 4

30. White/non-Black people have mistaken you for a sales person, waiter, or other service help when you were actually a customer.

0 1 2 3 4

31. You have noticed that the public services are inadequate or non-existent in Black communities (police, sanitation, street repairs, etc.).

0 1 2 3 4

- 0=This has never happened to me.
 1=This event happened, but did not bother me.
 2=This event happened & I was slightly upset.
 3=This event happened & I was upset.
 4=This event happened & I was extremely upset.

32. You have been subjected to racist jokes by Whites/non-Blacks in positions of authority and you did not protest for fear they might have held it against you.

0 1 2 3 4

33. While shopping at a store, or when attempting to make a purchase you were ignored as if you were not a serious customer or didn't have any money.

0 1 2 3 4

34. You have heard Blacks constantly being compared to other immigrants and minorities in terms of what they have not achieved, in spite of having been in the U. S. for so much longer than the other groups.

0 1 2 3 4

35. You have observed situations where other Blacks were treated harshly or unfairly by Whites/non-Blacks due to their race.

0 1 2 3 4

36. You have attempted to hail a cab, but they refused to stop, you think because you are Black.

0 1 2 3 4

37. You have heard reports of White/non-Blacks who have committed crimes, and in an effort to cover up their deeds falsely reported that a Black man was responsible for the crime.

0 1 2 3 4

38. You have held back angry or hostile feelings in the presence of White/non-Black people for fear they would've accused you of having a "chip" on your shoulder.

0 1 2 3 4

39. You have been asked to pay in advance for goods/services that are usually paid for after a person receives them; you suspect it was because you are Black.

0 1 2 3 4

40. You notice that the media plays up those stories that cast Blacks in negative ways (child abusers, rapists, muggers, etc. [or as savages] Wild Man of 96thSt., Wolf Pack, etc.), usually accompanied by a large picture of a Black person looking angry or disturbed.

0 1 2 3 4

41. You have been given more work, or the most undesirable jobs at your place of employment while the White/non-Black of equal or less seniority and credentials is given less work, and more desirable tasks.

0 1 2 3 4

- 0=This has never happened to me.
- 1=This event happened, but did not bother me.
- 2=This event happened & I was slightly upset.
- 3=This event happened & I was upset.
- 4=This event happened & I was extremely upset.

42. You have heard it suggested that Black men have an uncontrollable desire to possess a White woman.

0 1 2 3 4

43. You have heard racist remarks or comments about Black people spoke with impunity by White public officials or other influential White people.

0 1 2 3 4

44. You have heard or seen other Black people express the desire to be White or have White physical characteristics because they disliked being Black or thought it was ugly.

0 1 2 3 4

45. When you have interacted with Whites/non-Blacks you anticipated them saying or doing something racist either intentionally or unintentionally.

0 1 2 3 4

46. You have discovered that the White/non-Black person employed in the same capacity as you with equal or less qualifications is paid a higher salary.

0 1 2 3 4

Appendix G

Ways of Coping Questionnaire (Folkman & Lazarus, 1988)

Instructions

To respond to the statements in this questionnaire, you must have a specific stressful situation in mind. Take a few moments and think about the most stressful situation that you have experienced in the **past week**.

By “stressful” we mean a situation that was difficult or troubling for you, either because you felt distressed about what happened, or because you had to use considerable effort to deal with the situation. The situation may have involved your family, your job, your friends or something else important to you. Before responding to the statements, think about the details of this stressful situation, such as where it happened, who was involved, how you acted, and why it was important to you. While you may still be involved in the situation, or it could have already happened, it should be the most stressful situation that you experienced during the week.

As you respond to each of the statements, please keep this stressful situation in mind.

Read each statement carefully and indicate, by circling 0, 1, 2 or 3, to what extent you used it in the situation.

Key: **0** = Does not apply or not used **1** = Used somewhat
 2 = Used quite a bit **3** = Used a great deal

Please try to respond to every question.

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1. | I just concentrated on what I had to do next –the next step | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 2. | I tried to analyze the problem in order to understand it better. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 3. | I turned to work or another activity to take my mind off things | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 4. | I felt that time would make a difference- the only thing to do was to wait. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. | I bargained or compromised to get something positive from the situation. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. | I did something that I didn't think would work, but at least I was doing something. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 7. | I tried to get the person responsible to change his or her mood | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 8. | I talked to someone to find out more about the situation | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 9. | I criticized or lectured myself. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 10. | I tried not to burn my bridges, but leave things open somewhat. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 11. | I hoped for a miracle. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 12. | I went along with fate; sometimes I just have bad luck | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 13. | I went on as if nothing had happened. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Key: 0 = Does not apply or not used 1 = Used somewhat
2 = Used quite a bit 3 = Used a great deal

14.	I tried to keep my feelings to myself	0	1	2	3
15.	I looked for the silver lining, so to speak; I tried to look on the bright side of things	0	1	2	3
16.	I slept more than usual.	0	1	2	3
17.	I expressed anger to the person(s) who caused the problem.	0	1	2	3
18.	I accepted sympathy and understanding from someone.	0	1	2	3
19.	I told myself things that helped me feel better.	0	1	2	3
20.	I was inspired to do something creative about the problem.	0	1	2	3
21.	I tried to forget the whole thing.	0	1	2	3
22.	I got professional help.	0	1	2	3
23.	I changed or grew as a person.	0	1	2	3
24.	I waited to see what would happen before doing anything.	0	1	2	3
25.	I apologized or did something to make up.	0	1	2	3
26.	I made a plan of action and followed it.	0	1	2	3
27.	I accepted the next best thing to what I wanted.	0	1	2	3
28.	I let my feelings out somehow.	0	1	2	3
29.	I realized that I had brought the problem on myself.	0	1	2	3
30.	I came out of the experience better than when I went in.	0	1	2	3
31.	I talked to someone who could do something concrete about the problem.	0	1	2	3
32.	I tried to get away from it for a while by resting or taking a vacation.	0	1	2	3
33.	I tried to make myself feel better by eating, drinking, smoking using drugs, or medications, etc.	0	1	2	3
34.	I took a big chance or did something very risky to solve the problem.	0	1	2	3
35.	I tried not act too hastily or follow my first hunch.	0	1	2	3
36.	I found new faith.	0	1	2	3
37.	I maintained my pride and kept a stiff upper lip.	0	1	2	3

Key: 0 = Does not apply or not used 1 = Used somewhat
2 = Used quite a bit 3 = Used a great deal

38.	I rediscovered what is important in life.	0	1	2	3
39.	I changed something so things would turn out all right.	0	1	2	3
40.	I generally avoided being with people.	0	1	2	3
41.	I didn't let it get to me; I refused to think too much about it.	0	1	2	3
42.	I asked advice from a relative or friend I respected.	0	1	2	3
43.	I kept others from knowing how bad things were.	0	1	2	3
44.	I made light of the situation; I refused to get too serious about it.	0	1	2	3
45.	I talked to someone about how I was feeling.	0	1	2	3
46.	I stood my ground and fought for what I wanted.	0	1	2	3
47.	I took it out on other people.	0	1	2	3
48.	I drew on my past experiences; I was in a similar situation before.	0	1	2	3
49.	I knew what had to be done, so I doubled my efforts to make things work.	0	1	2	3
50.	I refused to believe that it happened.	0	1	2	3
51.	I promised myself that things would be different next time.	0	1	2	3
52.	I came up with a couple of different solutions to the problem.	0	1	2	3
53.	I accepted the situation, since nothing could be done.	0	1	2	3
54.	I tried to keep my feelings about the problem from interfering with with other things.	0	1	2	3
55.	I wished that I could change what had happened or how I felt.	0	1	2	3
56.	I changed something about myself.	0	1	2	3
57.	I daydreamed or imagined a better time or place than the one I was in.	0	1	2	3
58.	I wished the situation would go away or somehow be over with.	0	1	2	3
59.	I had fantasies or wishes about how things might turn out.	0	1	2	3
60.	I prayed.	0	1	2	3
61.	I prepared myself for the worst.	0	1	2	3

Key: **0** = Does not apply or not used **1** = Used somewhat
 2 = Used quite a bit **3** = Used a great deal

- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|
| 62. | I went over in my mind what I would say or do. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 63. | I thought about how a person I admire would handle this situation and used that as a model. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 64. | I tried to see things from the other person's point of view. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 65. | I reminded myself how much worse things could be. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| 66. | I jogged or exercised. | 0 | 1 | 2 | 3 |

Appendix H
(Zimet, G., Dahlem, S., Zimet, S., & Farley, 1988)

Multidimensional Scale of Perceived Social Support (MSPSS)

This questionnaire is designed to measure people's perception of subjective social support. There are no right or wrong answers. Please tell us how much you personally agree or disagree with the statements below by circling a number; using the scale below:

	Very Strongly Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Uncertain	Agree	Strongly Agree	Very Strongly Agree
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. There is a special person who is around when I am in need.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2. There is a special person with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3. My family really tries to help me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4. I get the emotional help and support I need from my family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5. I have a special person who is a real source of comfort to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6. My friends really try to help me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7. I can count on my friends when things go wrong.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8. I can talk about my problems with my family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9. I have friends with whom I can share my joys and sorrows.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10. There is a special person in my life who cares about my feelings.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11. My family is willing to help me make decisions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12. I can talk about my problems with my friends.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix I
(Diener, 1985)

Below are five statements with which you may agree or disagree. Using the 1 – 7 scale below, indicate your agreement with each item by placing the appropriate number on the line preceding that item.

Please be open and honest in your responding.

The 7 point scale is:

- 1 = strongly disagree
- 2 = disagree
- 3 = slightly disagree
- 4 = neither agree nor disagree
- 5 = slightly agree
- 6 = agree
- 7 = strongly agree

1. _____ In most ways my life is close to ideal.
2. _____ The conditions of my life are excellent.
3. _____ I am satisfied with my life.
4. _____ So far I have gotten the important things I want in my life.
5. _____ If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing.

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